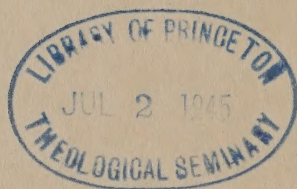


HV99  
.N59585



HV99

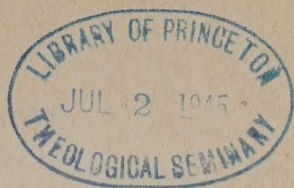
.N59S85











# *Sectarian Welfare Federation Among Protestants*

A Comparative Study of the Protestant, Jewish  
and Roman Catholic Welfare Federations, with an  
Especial Emphasis upon the Federation of Protestant  
Welfare Agencies, Incorporated, of New York City

by

LEONARD ALBERT STIDLEY, Ph.D.

*Professor of Religious Education and Practical Theology,  
Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College.*

---

*Association Press*

New York 17: 347 Madison Avenue

1944

**COPYRIGHT, 1944, BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF  
YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS**



**PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA**



# Contents

	PAGE
PREFACE .....	vii
NEED, PURPOSE, TERMS, SCOPE, AND METHOD OF STUDY....	ix
CHAPTER	
I. COMPARATIVE HISTORICAL TRENDS.....	I
II. BRIEF HISTORY OF THE FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES .....	26
III. FUNCTION, STRUCTURE, AND RELATIONSHIPS OF THE FEDERATION, AS REFLECTED IN OPINIONS.....	74
IV. WHY DO MEMBER AGENCIES BELONG TO THE FEDERATION? .....	96
V. FACING THE MAJOR ISSUES OF PROTESTANT WELFARE FEDERATION .....	110
APPENDIX .....	137
A. Board of Directors and Executive Committee Members .....	137
B. Questionnaire on the Relationship of the F.P.W.A. and Member Agencies.....	138
C. Schedule for Interviews with Board Members of the F.P.W.A.....	140
D. Schedule for Interviews with Protestant Ministers and Church Social Workers.....	142
E. Quotations from Minutes of Meetings of the F.P.W.A. Board of Directors Indicating Relations between the F.P.W.A. and the Federation of Churches .....	144
F. Legal Basis of Sectarian Social Work.....	145
G. Additional Tables .....	150
H. Additional Charts .....	154
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	157





# List of Charts

CHART	PAGE
1. Organizational Plan of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies .....	63
2. Plan of Welfare Council Co-ordination Proposed by the F.P.W.A. ....	154
3. Organizational Plan of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City....	155
4. Organizational Plan of the Roman Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York .....	156

# List of Tables

TABLE	PAGE
I. Growth of Agency Membership in the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies .....	50
II. Annual Expenditures of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies .....	52
III. Summary of Questionnaires Sent to and Received from Member Agencies of the F.P.W.A. ....	98
IV. Summary of Replies to Section I of Questionnaire to Member Agencies .....	99
V. Summary of Replies to Section II of Questionnaire to Member Agencies .....	103
VI. Expenditures for Outdoor Relief in New York City, from Public and Private Resources, 1910 to 1934....	150
VII. Current Expenditures for Voluntary Social Work in New York City. Classified by Sectarian Auspices of Agencies .....	150
VIII. Total Annual Parish Subscriptions to and Receipts of the Roman Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York .....	151
IX. Total Annual Receipts of and Number of Contributors to the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies .....	152
X. Number of Cases Handled and Children Placed by Case Work Department of the F.P.W.A. ....	152
XI. Number of Children Enrolled for Summer Camps by the F.P.W.A. ....	153
XII. Number and Amounts of Grants from the Baldwin Fund Since 1932 .....	153
XIII. Number and Amounts of Scholarships of the Youth Foundation Since 1930 .....	153





## Preface

THE PRESENT STUDY has been concerned with both the changing and the continuing problems of Protestant welfare federation, and has been made possible through the generous co-operation of many persons.

The writer is appreciative of the guiding assistance of Professor Harrison S. Elliott, of Union Theological Seminary; and of Professor F. Ernest Johnson of Teachers College, Columbia University. For their assistance and critical evaluation of the material on the sectarian welfare federations of their respective groups, he is indebted to the late Dr. Solomon Lowenstein and Mr. J. Frankel, of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City; and to Father G. B. Ford, counselor to Roman Catholic students at Columbia University.

Gratitude is due each of the many persons connected with the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies who gave continuous assistance, especially to Miss Louise Cutter, Executive Director in Charge of Co-ordination and Service, for her assistance in securing the data from member agencies; and to Miss Sue Flanagan, Executive Director in Charge of Public Relations and Finance, for her generous counsel and co-operation at all times.

The writer wishes also to express his appreciation to the executives of the Federations of Churches of New York City; to a score or more of workers in social agencies; to board members of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies; to fifty New York City ministers and church social workers; and to leaders of the member agencies in the Federation—all of whom co-operated in giving time for interviews or questionnaires and made possible the collecting of data. All granted the writer not only the generous use of their time, but also complete freedom in the consideration of those issues that he

thought pertinent. The writer must therefore bear the responsibility for the treatment of the material that these persons made available.

Grateful acknowledgment is also made to the various publishers for material which is quoted, and cited in footnotes through the book.

Finally, a deep debt is owed Miss Agnes Benedict, for her counsel in putting the material in its present form.

It is the author's hope that this study will assist in an evaluation of Protestant welfare federation and will clarify the unique opportunities that Protestants have in the welfare field.

LEONARD A. STIDLEY



# Need, Purpose, Terms, Scope and Method of Study

## Need for the present study

There is need to clarify and evaluate the essential nature and function of Protestant welfare federation as it is developing in the United States. The opinions of leaders in the field, results of various factual surveys, and problems that have arisen in some communities—particularly in New York City—point to a diversity of opinion, the absence of a clear-cut definition of function, and a consequent lack of adequate support by the community. Ivan Lee Holt, upon completion of his term as President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, wrote:

... large problem [facing the Protestant Churches today] is the status of the Protestant charities in Community Funds where Jewish and Catholic charities are supported by the Fund as well as Protestant charities.<sup>1</sup>

F. Ernest Johnson, in the following statements, called attention to the danger of forming Protestant councils or federations in order to improve the seemingly disadvantageous position of Protestant welfare agencies in various communities where there are Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations:

I look with concern upon the agitation for Protestant Councils of social welfare, called by whatever name. The aim seems to be to segregate a Protestant social work clientele for care under Protestant auspices. If such an effort is limited to acceptance of responsibility for allocation of needy parishioners to social agencies or assistance to juvenile courts and placement agencies in cases where Protestant youth are concerned, again the undertaking is legitimate. But if the idea is that the church must do its welfare work for its own people, or that

---

<sup>1</sup>Holt, Ivan Lee, *A Search for a New Strategy in Protestantism* (Nashville, Tenn., Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1935), p. 173.

Protestant funds must be expended among a Protestant constituency, the move is reactionary. The community welfare agencies are overwhelmingly Protestant, not by design but by virtue of the fact that the Protestant churches are able to furnish most of the professional personnel and the directorate as well as the funds. To seek to supplant them with specifically Protestant agencies would be turning the clock backward.<sup>2</sup>

A survey of Associated Church Charities (non-Catholic and non-Jewish) by the Chicago Church Federation<sup>3</sup> pointed out that there were three possible lines of action open to the local Protestant agencies in the social work field:

1. The continuance of the completely independent groups.
2. The formation of a Federation comparable with those of Jewish and Roman Catholic groups.
3. The creation of a Protestant Clearinghouse Committee.

The third course of action was followed by the Chicago agencies.

In Washington, D. C., a survey<sup>4</sup> was conducted by representatives of the Protestant churches and social agencies that pointed so clearly to the need for integration that a director was employed to assist in meeting this need. Additional surveys made by a Committee of the Church Conference of Social Work<sup>5</sup> in a number of cities throughout the country revealed diversity of approach and various stages of co-operation among Protestant welfare agencies.

In Los Angeles, California, a tension long present increased markedly in recent years, owing to the lack of Protestant recognition.

No "tempest in a teapot" is the "Protestant Reformation" in

<sup>2</sup>Johnson, F. Ernest, *The Church and Society* (New York, Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1935), pp. 152-153.

<sup>3</sup>Giersbach, Walter, *Associated Church Charities* (1933). Mimeographed.

<sup>4</sup>Tippy, Worth M., *Churches and Social Agencies in Washington, by a Committee on Co-operation* (1937). Privately printed.

<sup>5</sup>Information Service (March 23, 1934, and January 22, 1938).



the Community Chest Budget Committee in Los Angeles. For years Protestants have grumbled that they paid generously into the Community Chest, but seemed to trail the Roman Catholic and Jewish agencies when the budget was arranged. However, the Budget Committee pointed out that the Protestant and Secular Agencies (always lumped together) received more than \$1,200,000 while the Roman Catholic Agencies (always listed separately) received about \$400,000 and the Jewish Agencies (likewise alone) received a little more than the Roman Catholic Agencies. This year, when the Community Chest Officers sent out their letter asking for the support of the Chest Drive, they signed the letter with the names of more than fifty sponsors. Among these sponsors were priests, rabbis, the Episcopal bishop, the presidents of various athletic clubs, social organizations and women's clubs, but no Protestant minister of any denomination. *This oversight seemed to reveal the insignificant position Protestantism really held in the minds of the officers. There were vigorous protests.*<sup>6</sup>

To resolve this conflict, the Protestant churches and welfare organizations felt it necessary to employ a full-time administrator. This condition of tension typifies a situation that exists in varying degrees in different communities throughout the country. Clearly, trends in Protestant welfare federation are without definite direction.

In New York City, tensions became so acute in 1936 that a survey of Protestant social service was made,<sup>7</sup> which resulted in a recognition of Protestant sectarian social work on the part of community funds, in a continuing but unsuccessful attempt to clarify the status of Protestant welfare federation and in the demand for a persistent search for a strategy of Protestant social work. This demand was centered in the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies of New York City.

This Federation is the only federation of Protestant welfare agencies in the United States. It represents one definite organizational attempt to clarify the function of Protestant

---

<sup>6</sup>*Zion's Herald*, a Methodist weekly (January 15, 1941), Vol. CXIX, No. 2, p. 64. Italics the author's.

<sup>7</sup>*Survey of Protestant Social Service in New York City* (1936). Mimeographed.

welfare federation,<sup>c</sup> to formulate a policy for it, and to implement this policy. Yet this Federation, after twenty years, still faces the problem of the relation of a Protestant welfare federation to community funds, and finds itself unfavorably compared with the Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations of the city. At the present time (1944), it has a hundred and fifty-seven member agencies and an annual budget over a hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars, but its purpose is confused. As one of its leaders remarked: "*We are a going organization in need of a philosophy.*" There is, then, a need to clarify the nature and function of this Federation and to determine what, if any, is its distinctive work and organization. And insofar as this Federation represents an experience in developing a Protestant policy in social work, a study of it will throw light upon the nature of Protestant welfare federation throughout the country.

### Purpose

This study attempts to answer the question: "What, if any, is the distinctive nature of Protestant welfare federation?" It seeks to explore the significance of the term "Protestant" for federation among sectarian welfare agencies. It endeavors to analyze, clarify, and weigh those central issues that stem from the nature and function of a federation among Protestant welfare agencies. This is done through a consideration of the nature and development, since its origin in 1920, of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies of New York City; and through a comparison of this Federation with the Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations, and also with non-sectarian welfare agencies of the community. This is not a survey in the technical sense of a detailed analysis. It is primarily an analytical and critical study of nature and of function. It is also the purpose of the study to relate the analysis and evaluation of this problem to the concrete functioning of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, and thus to be of practical value.

## Definition of terms

Social work, in its broadest sense, includes family service, relief, health, child care, recreation, group work, social action, and many other divisions.<sup>8</sup> But in this study the term "social work" is used primarily in an institutional sense, and refers to those services provided by child-care agencies, hospitals, and the like. The major emphasis is upon those institutions and agencies that are members or potential members of a sectarian welfare federation. The term "sectarian social work" is applied to the welfare services of the three major religious and cultural groups. Broadly speaking, social work is sectarian insofar as it is controlled by a religious or cultural group and is motivated in the interest of the group. The social work of a sectarian group may, however, exist for the purpose of serving members of the group only, or may also serve persons who do not belong to it. Jewish social work comprises the care provided by Jewish groups primarily for Jews, and Roman Catholic social work is that which is done by Roman Catholics under the Roman Catholic Church as an organization. Protestant social work refers to those services provided by agencies or institutions that are admittedly Protestant, that are controlled by Protestant boards, but that may or may not be for the service of Protestants only.

Although the term "Protestant" is based upon *individual* belief, in sectarian social work it is a *collective* concept. Protestant social work is *by* and *of* Protestants. It stands in contrast with Jewish and Roman Catholic social work on one hand and with non-sectarian on the other. In this study, when social work is carried on by Protestant groups working as Protestants, it is called "Protestant social work." Protestant welfare federation is the central organizational association of those welfare agencies that are Protestant.

Non-sectarian social work is here used in the accepted sense of referring to services provided by agencies or institutions

---

<sup>8</sup>Kurtz, Russell J., editor, *Social Work Year Book* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1941), pp. 15-18.



whose purpose and control are not *of*, *by*, or *for* any particular religious or cultural group. Non-sectarian social work operates on a neighborhood, group, and community—as contrasted with a sectarian—basis. It may be directed and supported by individual Protestants, as well as by persons of other faiths.

The word “charity” is used in the customary sense of meaning alms or gifts bestowed upon the poor and needy. Since social work is a twentieth-century and, to a marked degree, a professional term, the word “charity” is its basic predecessor. As F. Ernest Johnson points out:

The Roman Catholics continue to use the word charity in the Latin sense, *caritas*. Among Protestants, on the other hand, it has become almost a word of opprobrium, representing an inadequate substitute for justice.<sup>9</sup>

### Scope

To seek to explore the distinctive nature of such an extensive concept as Protestant welfare federation required four distinct and varied lines of research: two historical and analytical, one of opinion studies, and finally a critical evaluation of the distinctiveness of Protestant welfare federation.

The first line of research necessitated a comparative analysis of the essential nature of the Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic positions, and the development of their welfare federations, especially in New York City. To ascertain the relationship of the Jewish, Protestant, and Roman Catholic positions and their respective organizations to those children who become state wards, there was need of an analysis of the legal basis of sectarian social work. These comparative analyses served to give a background for the major study.

Because this study was concerned primarily with the distinctiveness of the Protestant position in welfare federation, a more detailed consideration was, of course, given to the historical trends and development of the Federation of Protestant

---

<sup>9</sup>Johnson, F. Ernest, “Protestant Social Work,” in Kurtz, *op. cit.*, pp. 403-404.

Welfare Agencies. This study noted its beginnings, its accomplishments, the emergence of patterns, resulting conflicts, the relationship to the Protestant churches and to community agencies, changing forms of organization, and unique problems of function.

To ascertain what various persons and groups thought to be the nature, function, and distinctiveness of the Federation required several different approaches. A study was made of the opinions of a selected group of board members in order to learn what those who directed the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies believed to be the purpose of the organization. A questionnaire was sent to one hundred and twenty-five member agencies to learn what ties held the member agencies to the Federation. In order to ascertain the relationship of the Federation to the Protestant churches, interviews were held with about fifty Protestant ministers and church social workers. And key social workers on the staffs of three coordinating community social-work agencies—the Welfare Council, the non-sectarian family welfare agencies, and the Greater New York Fund—were interviewed to learn of the Federation in its relationship to these community agencies.

A further area of exploration had to do with the significance of this study for the developing program of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and for those persons who were intimately connected with or concerned in this program. As this study extended over a period of six years, various changes in policy, in actual functioning, and in structural organization took place within the Federation and also in the thought patterns of those closely connected with it. Much of this study was theoretical and had little relationship to these changes, although some phases of it did affect the immediate program—as, for example, the part the study played in preparing the ground for the Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus for churches, which were established by the Federation. While only this one concrete integration resulted, yet all phases of the study were related to the ongoing organization.

### Methods

Three primary methods were used to collect the data for the study:

1. A documentary study was made of records, official reports, memoranda, and texts related to the three sectarian welfare federations, as well as of laws and judicial decisions related to sectarian social work.

2. A questionnaire was sent to one hundred and twenty-five member agencies of the Federation.

3. Interviews<sup>10</sup> were held with over one hundred different persons. These included officials connected with the three sectarian welfare federations, executive secretaries and leaders of the Federations of Churches, non-sectarian social workers, children's court workers, a selected group of board members of the Federation, and a selected group of about fifty Protestant ministers and social workers.

The relating of the study to the actual operation of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and to the thinking of interested persons mentioned necessitated consultations with various individuals and discussions with members of interested groups. The reconciliation, insofar as possible, of extreme and divergent points of view was held to be of primary importance. Since the term "Protestant" includes many diverse groups, any study of Protestant social work needs to be as inclusive as possible. In this study, an attempt was made to consult lay and professional persons of liberal and conservative opinions. Although this was difficult and resulted in slowing up the ongoing study, yet at the same time it was one of the strengths of the study. Such a procedure definitely broadened the base and was essential to a study of this nature.

---

<sup>10</sup>Although each interview in this study is documented, the initials used in the footnotes are not those of the persons interviewed. Any resemblances are purely coincidental.



# Comparative Historical Trends

RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS are always understood in the light of their fundamental beliefs and historic traditions. By derivation,<sup>1</sup> the term "Protestant" has both a positive and a negative meaning. The word "protest" means to make a solemn declaration, to make a protest against. In Protestant Welfare Federation in New York City, both of these tendencies have, of course, been expressed: to will to affirm its own distinctive quality, and to seek to clarify the points at which it stood in contrast with the two other major sectarian welfare federations—the Roman Catholic Charities and the Jewish Federation. Thus, to understand the nature of Protestant Welfare Federation it is necessary first to examine the roots of Protestant belief, the broad historical trends of Protestant social work as a whole, and also to make a brief comparative study of the nature of the Roman Catholic and Jewish positions, and of the development of their charity and social work into sectarian welfare federations.

## The Judæo-Christian tradition

Jewish charity, an expression of Jewish thought and community life, though the oldest of the three, serves the smallest group. The Jewish tradition, the soil in which the Christian faith was nurtured, had definite intertwining of religion and charity. The Old Testament has numerous references to acts, customs, and commandments that show the basis of the Jewish philosophy of charity.<sup>2</sup> Jewish charity was rooted in the conception of God that the Jewish people had developed.

The three outstanding biblical assumptions on which the duty of charity is based, and which are further elaborated by the

<sup>1</sup>For a complete explanation, see a standard dictionary.

<sup>2</sup>"Biblical Conceptions of Charity," in *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (March, 1936), Vol. XII, No. 3, pp. 334-336.

rabbis, are: (1) that the poor are God's wards and pensioners; (2) that God, as a God of justice, demands that restitution be made to the poor for what they have been deprived of; and (3) that God, as a God of compassion, expects us to sympathize with all who are in want and do all in our power to relieve them. These are the three motifs which continually recur in the spiritual symphony which the Jewish religion created out of the urge to benevolence.<sup>3</sup>

According to the Talmud, there were seven branches of charity for Jews to observe:

1. To feed the hungry and give drink to the thirsty.
2. To clothe the naked.
3. To visit the sick.
4. To bury the dead and comfort the mourners.
5. To ransom the captives.
6. To educate the fatherless and shelter the homeless.
7. To provide poor maidens with dowries.<sup>4</sup>

Bogen states<sup>5</sup> that it is to these practices that the passage in the Bible (Matthew 25:35-39) alludes when the Son of Man, as the Judge at the Great Assize, is represented as saying to the righteous:

I was an hungered, and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me; I was sick and ye visited me; I was in prison and ye came unto me.

Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews thus have common roots of charity in the Judæo-Christian tradition. Yet in Western culture the Christian tradition has become more predominant and extensive, and the Christian Church has been referred to as the mother of social work,<sup>6</sup> having sponsored

<sup>3</sup>Kaplan, Mordecai M., "Jewish Philanthropy: Traditional and Modern," in Faris, Ellsworth, *et al.*, editors, *Intelligent Philanthropy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930), p. 56.

<sup>4</sup>Bogen, Boris D., *Jewish Philanthropy* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917), p. 18.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>Johnson, F. Ernest, "Protestant Social Work," in Kurtz, Russell H., editor, *Social Work Year Book* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1941), pp. 403-404.

and laid the foundations for modern social work, and having fostered the major trends in charity and charitable agencies.

### The Christian basis of charity

The motivations for Protestant and Roman Catholic charity are found in first-century Christianity.

. . . the inspiring example of Jesus, the sense of kinship under a common Father, the Christ-mysticism of Paul by which members of the church felt themselves united in the body of Christ, and the sense of abandon which was derived from the millennial hopes of the early Christian community.<sup>7</sup>

The early Christian Church was a persecuted church; its members were held together by a new-found vibrant faith and by the need to protect themselves against attack from without. Disciples were thus appointed to care for their own poor, orphans, foundlings, widows, sick, strangers, prisoners, and captives. As the Christian churches grew, methods of giving relief became more organized and formal, but throughout the era of persecutions—that is, the first three centuries—relief was practically restricted to members of the church. Charity was primarily reserved for those who were of the household of faith.<sup>8</sup>

After 323, when Constantine became sole ruler of the Roman world, Christianity moved into a position of a state religion and as such found a need for extending charity beyond the care of the faithful. Two new developments of this period of expansion were: (1) the establishment of institutions for persons who needed relief—orphans, the aged, the sick, the poor, and travelers; and (2) the gradual regulation on the part of church authorities of the church charities and of the religious orders, which came as part of the monastic movement and which arose as the Roman Catholic Church developed.

---

<sup>7</sup>Niebuhr, Reinhold, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932), pp. 4-5.

<sup>8</sup>Queen, S. A., *Social Work in the Light of History* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1922), p. 232; also, Galatians 6:10.



The Roman Catholic Church continued to expand its services of charity as the foundations of the Holy Roman Empire were laid. When the political world was united through the establishment of this Empire under Charlemagne, the Roman Catholic Church assumed as its exclusive function the administration of charity. But the break up of Charlemagne's Empire in 843 resulted in the decentralization of political power and in the corresponding limitation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

### The Protestant position

With the Reformation, the Christian tradition was broken. The Reformation gave birth to a new concept—Protestantism—which later developed Protestant charity and was destined not only to maintain its own identity but to have a profound influence upon all charity.

Martin Luther broke with the centralized authority of the Roman Catholic Church and came to a theological position that man, in his search for salvation, was "justified by faith." Salvation to Luther came, not through the authority of the Church, but through the faith that an individual Christian had in the saving grace of God as revealed in Jesus Christ. According to Troeltsch:

[This Protestant distinctiveness] requires faith from everyone, and this ought to be possible, or at least accessible, to everyone through baptism and the proclamation of the Gospel in the ministry of the Word. . . . The only thing that matters is faith in the forgiveness of sins. . . . Everything that does matter is focused in the grace of the forgiveness of sins, and in the blessedness of those who have been justified by faith.<sup>9a</sup>

This concept of salvation is fundamental to Protestant distinctiveness and is basically different both from the Jewish and the Roman Catholic positions.

Luther's theological position, as far as works of charity were concerned, stood in opposition to that of the Roman Catholic position as set forth by Thomas Aquinas that "alms-

<sup>9a</sup> Troeltsch, Ernest, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York, The Macmillian Company, 1931), Vol. II, pp. 501-503.

giving may be made meritorious of eternal rewards and expiatory of the temporal punishment due to sin.”<sup>10</sup> Shailer Mathews points out that this contrast clarifies Protestant theological positions and the motivation for charity by Protestants:

The Roman Catholic position makes the performance of good deeds, such as almsgiving, an element of justification, i.e., the process of gaining acquittal at the Judgment Day. The Protestant regards that acquittal as wholly unaffected by anything a man does and wholly determined by his attitude toward Jesus, that is, his faith. For the Protestant, therefore, justification is exclusively by faith, wholly independent of morality. . . . The Protestant teachers have consistently taught that a man while not saved because he is good, ought to be good because he was saved.<sup>11</sup>

The Protestant churches, for the most part, continued in the Roman Catholic tradition of almsgiving—not under a centralized ecclesiastical authority, but through local parish organizations, for they were not united as were the Roman Catholic. However, most local Protestant churches had to establish themselves, had to work out new theologies and new places in their communities. For this reason works of charity became secondary, perfunctory, and conventional in nature, and in some churches were disbanded altogether. Religious effort was diverted into other channels, and consequently all administration of charity suffered a decline.

Yet, as time went on, Protestant charity was to assume characteristics peculiar to itself and become a reflection of fundamental Protestant belief. Since Protestants stressed the supremacy of individual belief and good deeds, as the result of “saving faith,” it followed that they did not hold the churches to be the sole agencies for the bestowing of charity nor church members to be the sole recipients. It was also consistent that Protestants, on the whole, encouraged the State to assume a major responsibility in charity. While the Protestant churches did not develop a specialized ministry for the

---

<sup>10</sup>*Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1908), Vol. III, p. 599.

<sup>11</sup>Mathews, Shailer, “Protestant Churches and Charity,” in Faris, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113.

dispensing of charity, nevertheless groups or interested individuals pioneered in the establishment of organizations to care for the needy, and some outstanding work was done. Some of these pioneer organizations—particularly in the child-care field, and hospitals and hospices—remained under Protestant auspices,<sup>12</sup> while others were carried until a community or the State took over the responsibility of control and support.

Furthermore, Protestant charity reflected Protestant belief in another way. Liberty was secured at the expense of unity. "Protestant charity" became a collective term for numerous *forms* of charity. It was inclusive but not expressive of unity, which meant that lines of demarcation between religious and secular charity were not always clearly drawn. There was no centralized planning or control in Protestant charity.

### The Roman Catholic position

The Roman Catholic Church, continuing in its tradition of religious charity, developed wholly different concepts and organizational structure.

Although, as has been indicated, Roman Catholic charity crystalized gradually through the centuries, yet its roots were first and foremost religious charity; its goal and motivation were Christian, and were based upon the New Testament.

The Magna Charta for Catholic charity was written on Mount Olivet, when Jesus said to His disciples, "for I was hungry, and you gave me to eat; I was thirsty, and you gave me to drink; I was a stranger and you took me in; naked and you covered me; sick and you visited me; I was in prison and you came unto me. . . . I say to you as long as you did it to one of these my least brethren, you did it to me." (Matthew 25:35-40). In this brief but divine conspectus of the opportunities and duties of charity at the dawn of the Christian era, we read the first page, as it were of that consuming love of our neighbor in Jesus Christ that transcended at once all human barriers, and despite whatever obstacles and sufferings, swept one day all knowledge, power and culture of the Mediterranean world into the bosom of the Holy

---

<sup>12</sup>Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, p. 12.



Church. By His own life of universal beneficence Jesus Christ interpreted beyond cavil the practical import of His new social charter. It is this new thing in the history of mankind, the charity of Jesus Christ, that tided over the moribund ancient world into a haven of security, built up a firm religious and social framework for the rude and uncivilized men who inherited its immense site and its mighty wreckage, and breathed into their new political and social order the fire and vigor of Christian convictions as to the moral dignity and social rights and obligations of all men.<sup>13</sup>

As the ecclesiastical hierarchy developed, Roman Catholic faith expressed itself through the centralized authority of the Church. This authority became a distinctive part of the administration of charity, because charitable agencies and institutions became the Church in action.

Likewise, Roman Catholic charity came to have a distinctive administrative organization—the local parish becoming the functioning unit of service through which the Church expressed itself, and the diocese the larger unit for administrative purposes. While Protestants, as stated, administered some charity through local parishes, they never developed the centralized authority of the Roman Catholic Church.

The unity and authority of the Church were revealed in the many Roman Catholic orders that provided countless devoted religious workers, and that established and directed many of the charitable institutions of the Church. These orders became a distinctive part of Roman Catholic charities.

The Roman Catholic Church came to hold the position that the type of charity it maintained was the highest, being found in no other religion and being the expression of the true religion. Judaism might have high ideals considered as commandments of God, but not the God as revealed in Christ. Also, "Jewish charity was essentially national, for it did not embrace all mankind."<sup>14</sup> Protestantism might claim its roots in the primitive Church, but its repudiation of the exclusive

---

<sup>13</sup>O'Grady, John, *Catholic Charities in the United States* (Washington, D. C., National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1931), p. v.

<sup>14</sup>Ryan, John, "Charity and Charities," in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, *op. cit.*

Roman Catholic faith and ecclesiastical authority, its elimination of the religious orders of charity, its turning of charity over to the State, as well as its emphasis upon "justification by faith" were definite breaks with the Roman Catholic position.

In purpose, the Roman Catholic Church did not limit its service to the faithful, as did the first-century Church. No one race or group was to be the object of its charity. In this regard Roman Catholic charity and Protestant charity were similar, but nevertheless the former came to be largely for Roman Catholics.

Roman Catholic charities were sectarian because of the exclusive nature of the Roman Catholic faith. Joseph F. Rummel gave expression to the ethical principles that governed the workers in Roman Catholic welfare organizations as follows:

. . . we set up our own system of charity because there are religious and moral issues that cannot be divorced from the service of charity. . . . This mission [of charity] we fulfill best by pursuing the traditional policy of our own machinery of service, even though the process entail much labor and sacrifice. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Likewise, the Roman Catholic charities were sectarian because of practical considerations, as stated by Kirby:

While the Church's conception of the duties of charity lead her to offer services to all who need it regardless of race, creed, or color, practical considerations such as limited resources, fear of misunderstanding, and the advantage of a bond of common faith between poor and their benefactors tend to confine many of her activities to the Catholic poor. In countless instances the victims of poverty are served without question as to faith, color or creed.<sup>16</sup>

Rather than try to care for everyone, the Roman Catholic

<sup>15</sup>Rummel, Joseph F., "Why Catholic Charities," in *Proceedings of the National Conference on Catholic Charities* (Washington, D. C., 1932), pp. 55-62. Quoted from Boylan, Marguerite T., *Social Welfare in the Catholic Church* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941), pp. 10-11.

<sup>16</sup>Kirby, William J., "The Catholic Standpoint in Charity," in Faris *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

Church sought first to care for her own. Roman Catholic charities and Jewish charities were similar at this point, although the former drew the line on faith and practical considerations, and the latter on "religion and culture."

Roman Catholic charities also stood in contrast with non-sectarian social-welfare organizations, which, from the Roman Catholic position, were considered as omitting the core of charity—namely, the Roman Catholic faith. Roman Catholic charity could not be true to the spiritual quality of Christian charity and do social service only.<sup>17</sup>

### The Jewish position

A people "with a genius for religion, and a strange and tragic history," the Jews have developed and maintained a third distinctive form of charity.

As previously stated, the Jews have had the longest history of charity of the three faiths. The traditional Jewish concept of charity had been rooted in their belief in Yahweh. To believe in the God of the Jews required that certain acts of charity be performed and that these be done in certain ways. Classic expression was given, toward the latter part of the thirteenth century, by one of the most outstanding rabbis, Maimonides, who summed up the Talmudic rules and enumerated eight different types of donors:

1. He who gives with bad grace.
2. He who gives inadequately, but with good grace.
3. He who gives after he is asked.
4. He who gives before he is asked.
5. He who gives without knowing the recipient, whereas the recipient knows the giver.
6. He who gives in secret, casting his money into the houses of the poor, who remain ignorant as to the identity of their benefactor.
7. He who gives charity without knowing who is the re-

---

<sup>17</sup>*First Annual Report of the Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York* (1921), p. 5.



ipient, and without the recipient knowing who is the donor.

8. He who aids the poor to support himself by advancing him funds or by helping him to some lucrative position.<sup>18</sup>

Doubtless there have been donors of each of these types among the Jews, but the highest types have always guided Jewish works of charity.

Throughout their history, the Jews had definite motives for the distribution of charity, but the distinctiveness of Jewish charity has centered in the term "Jew," which came to denote a member of one of the following three groups of people:<sup>19</sup>

1. Those who were Jews because of their religion. For these people, religion—that is, Judaism—was the distinctive part of the Jew. There might have been many interpretations of the religion (Orthodox, Conservative, and Reformed), but so long as Judaism was adhered to, the term "Jew" survived. This group has been consistently the largest of the three.

2. Those who were Jews by virtue of their participation in Jewish community life. Not all Jews held to a religious faith, but all did hold to certain customs, mores, and culture, so that participation in Jewish community life made some persons Jews. Though there were cultural changes, the basic pattern remained—a Jewish ethos.

3. Those who were not primarily "religionists" or "culturists," but who, because they belonged to a minority group, were considered Jews by the larger community. These persons may have wanted to become a part of the larger community in which the Jewish religion and culture found itself isolated, but "social and economic restrictions were placed upon them."<sup>20</sup> They were discriminated against and were frequently a persecuted minority; but the larger community, through its intolerance, helped to perpetuate the Jews.

<sup>18</sup>Karpf, Maurice J., *Jewish Community Organizations in the United States* (Philadelphia, Jewish Publication Society, 1938), p. 70.

<sup>19</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 42-50.

<sup>20</sup>*Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (September, 1930), Vol. VII, No. 1, p. 15.

These three factors, then—religion, culture, and minority status—made the Jews distinctive. Jews did not subscribe to one faith or “an *ecclesia*,” as did the Roman Catholics, nor to “justification by faith,” as did the Protestants.

The Jewish traditional principles operate[d] from communally centered motivations, and conceive[d] personal salvation as achieved not at an altar, but through group expression and wholesome social relations.<sup>21</sup>

The Jew centered his life in the Jewish community, which was the depository of Jewish faith,<sup>22</sup> the expression of Jewish culture, and frequently the object of Gentile discrimination.

The distinctiveness of the Jew caused his charity to be centered in his own people. Jews did help others, but they found themselves called upon to take care of their own, a definite group. Thus the Jews became sectarian in charity, not because their motives were solely sectarian, but because of the practical problem of relating their minority group life, with its distinctive religious and cultural ties, to the larger communities of which they were a part. The basis of Jewish philosophy of charity was in the bond of the people served.

### Sectarian charity and social work in the United States

In the United States, patterns of sectarian charity, which already had been established in Europe, became more firmly fixed through the action of external factors and the position in which the three groups found themselves in this country. Numerically, the Protestants were the largest group; and, although divided into many sects, collectively they were also the dominant group.

The simple fact of being minority groups served to bind the Roman Catholics and Jews more strongly to their respective groups. At the time of the Revolutionary War, it has

<sup>21</sup>Kohs, Samuel C., “Jewish Content in Jewish Social Work,” *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (September, 1936), Vol. XIII, No. 1, p. 107.

<sup>22</sup>Karpf, *op cit.*, p. 50.

been estimated that there were in the colonies twenty-two thousand Roman Catholics<sup>23</sup> and less than two thousand<sup>24</sup> Jews, out of a total population of three million.

Both groups were continually augmented by immigration, which at certain periods increased markedly. Although there were a few early settlements of Roman Catholics in the United States, three important waves of immigration changed the Roman Catholic status and increased the need for charity—namely, the Irish immigration, at the middle of the century (over 1,250,000 came between 1845 and 1855<sup>25</sup>); the German immigration, after the middle of the century (over 2,500,000 came in the period 1850 to 1860<sup>26</sup>); and the Italian immigration (over 2,092,000 came between 1887 and 1906<sup>27</sup>). Each of these national groups—Irish, German, and Italian—sought to develop charitable agencies and institutions for their own people, who, on the whole, were needy strangers in a strange land. Although the factor of nationality played an important part, yet the prime factors in affecting unity were the Roman Catholic Church and the religious orders.

The Jews, also, had their tides of immigration. The number of Jews in the United States in 1818 was estimated at three thousand.<sup>28</sup> By 1848, after the revolutions in Germany, this number had increased to fifty thousand. It was, however, after the Russian pogroms and Eastern European persecutions of the 1880's that Jewish immigrants came to the United States in large numbers. In 1877, the estimated Jewish population in the United States was 229,000, and in 1907 it was

<sup>23</sup>Guilday, Peter, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, Encyclopedia Press, 1922), Vol. I, p. 57.

<sup>24</sup>Karpf, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>25</sup>Commons, John R., *Races and Immigrants in America* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908), p. 66.

<sup>26</sup>Abbott, Edith, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problems* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1926), p. 518. This author estimates that one half of these were Roman Catholics.

<sup>27</sup>Foerster, Robert, *Italian Immigration in Our Times* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919), p. 16.

<sup>28</sup>Karpf, *op. cit.*, p. 8.



1,776,885. German, Russian, and Portuguese Jewish charitable agencies were established.

The Jews, from their first landing in the United States, were met with the necessity of taking care of their own.<sup>29</sup>

In 1654, a party of twenty-three refugees fleeing from persecution in Brazil arrived in New Amsterdam; some of these people did not have enough money to pay full passage and Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, told them they could not remain. An appeal was made to the directors of the Dutch West Indies Company. The reply gave this party of Jews permission to sail to and trade in New Netherlands, and to live and to remain there, provided the poor among them shall not become a burden to the company or the community but be supported by their own nation.<sup>30</sup>

Although the Jews had definite sectarian bonds and a tradition, to a large degree they put their charity on national bases within the Jewish framework, rather than on a unified sectarian basis. Maurice Karpf stated there was "planlessness of Jewish social work in the United States."<sup>31</sup>

Protestant charity and social work in the United States followed three broad trends. Denominationalism enabled each group to carry on its own charity, and the result among the Protestants was disunity, almost to the point of anarchy. This disunity acted as a stimulus to the development of secular social work.

The disunity of the [Protestant] church made the secularization of social work imperative. There are enough limitations in a religiously inspired institutional charity to justify the conclusion that secularization is a desirable end. . . . The anarchic disunity of Protestantism makes the secularization of social work inevitable, even if it were not desirable. It is quite impossible in

---

<sup>29</sup>*Fifty Years of Social Service* (New York, The Jewish Social Service Association, 1926); and Bogen, *op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>30</sup>According to Karpf, the "common belief that these early Jewish settlers promised to take care of their own poor as a condition for being permitted to remain, is not quite true. Although the Dutch West India Company named such a condition, there is no evidence that Stuyvesant tried to impose it, or that the Jewish settlers accepted it." Karpf, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

<sup>31</sup>Karpf, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

grappling with the increasingly complex problems of urban civilization to use an instrument as divided as the Protestant church. Nevertheless, there are creditable institutions of charity, particularly hospitals, under Protestant auspices.<sup>32</sup>

Also true to their tradition, various groups of Protestants pioneered in certain fields of charity, especially those of child care, work with the aged, hospitals, charity organization societies, and denominational services, in some instances later turning the work over to the community. Also true to the tradition of emphasis on individual belief, Protestant charity and social work developed in two directions. On the one hand there was the individual, voluntary participation, which F. Ernest Johnson considered the dominant form:

. . . there has grown up in America a Protestant pattern of social work in which the Christian motive tends to find its social expression through individual voluntary participation by members of the Protestant churches in activities and agencies that are conducted under secular auspices. These agencies furnish a channel of Christian benevolence and also furnish vocational outlet for the ideals of service that Christianity has fostered.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand there were Protestant churches and groups that established, supported, and maintained charity and social work in specific areas. Thus a definite sectarian pattern of Protestant charity and social work was maintained.

#### Legal basis of sectarian social work in New York State <sup>34</sup>

The development of the three forms of sectarian social work in New York City followed in a general way that of the nation as a whole. Before outlining this development, it is necessary to state briefly the legal basis of sectarian social work in New York State, since the changing laws of the state exerted a profound and continuing effect.

The laws of the State of New York make mandatory the assignment, by courts and other departments, of children who

<sup>32</sup>Niebuhr, *op. cit.*, p. 151.

<sup>33</sup>Johnson, *op. cit.*, p. 404.

<sup>34</sup>For a fuller statement of this topic, see Appendix, pp. 145-149.

become state wards to homes and institutions in charge of persons of the same religious faith as these children.<sup>35</sup> This procedure has been in operation since 1875, when the State Legislature decided to discontinue committing children who had become state wards to state-controlled orphanages, and instead to assign the children to sectarian homes and institutions, and to assume a financial responsibility for them. This procedure has become known as the "New York system."

The major sectarian groups, because of their interest in their respective faiths and in child care, had pioneered in the child-care field, and had established and maintained the large majority of child-care institutions and agencies, only one tenth of the child-care agencies and institutions in the United States being under public auspices.<sup>36</sup> Under the New York system, the financial assistance by the state or any of its subdivisions made possible the continuance and in some cases the expansion of sectarian child-care agencies, and at the same time gave definite status in the community to the sectarian agencies. This system also placed upon the courts the responsibility of preventing proselytization by any sectarian group, because the opportunities for service offered to each group would be dependent upon the number of children assigned; and the assignment, in turn, would be dependent upon the religious faith of the child.

In New York State, the organizations of the three major faiths co-operated with the state in the child-care area for so many years that this procedure became the *modus operandi* in social work. In cases of dispute over the religious faith of children, the court made the decision. The state placed upon each sectarian group the opportunity of providing home care and religious education for those children who became state wards.

From the legal point of view, each sectarian group had

---

<sup>35</sup>See New York State Laws. The State Constitution, Article VI, Section 18. Also Domestic Relations Court Laws, 1933, Chapter 482, Sections 88 and 89.

<sup>36</sup>Falconer, Martha, "Child: Institutions for the Care of Children," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), Vol. III.



equal standing; but the manner in which Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews might meet their respective opportunities in regard to state wards, and the way in which they might choose their representatives to co-operate with state and city departments, depended upon the philosophies and forms of organizations of these sectarian groups. The state provided the legal basis of sectarian social work in the child-care area.

#### Trends toward federation in sectarian social work in New York City

By the time social work as we know it was developing in the United States, during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the three sectarian groups were maintaining their own services in New York City. Considering the groups as a whole, these services included, among others, homes for children and for the aged, hospitals, agencies for protective placement, and relief-giving agencies. Movements in the direction of co-ordination appeared among the Roman Catholic and Jewish groups some time before they showed themselves among Protestants. This was, of course, to be expected.

*Roman Catholic social work.* In the case of the Roman Catholics, the movement had been started by ecclesiastical authorities who came to feel that the diversity of aims, policies, and methods of work constituted a serious limitation to the effectiveness of the centralized work of the Church.<sup>37</sup> There were already certain institutions, especially the societies of St. Vincent de Paul, that were looking toward co-ordination.<sup>38</sup>

Outside criticism also played a part, for the shortcomings of Roman Catholic charity were brought out along with those of other groups in the state and city investigations that were made in 1915-1916.<sup>39</sup> Then, too, Roman Catholics felt the

<sup>37</sup>*Summary of Final Report*, report of a survey of Roman Catholic Welfare Agencies prior to the formation of the Roman Catholic Charities (New York, Archdiocese of New York, 1919), p. 6.

<sup>38</sup>O'Grady, *op. cit.*, pp. 263, 321, 418, 428, and 438.

<sup>39</sup>Marguerite Boylan states: "Undoubtedly the [investigations] influenced . . . the organization of Catholic Charities." Boylan, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

need for larger funds with which properly to conduct their work and to extend it.<sup>40</sup> Accordingly, an extensive survey of Roman Catholic charities was made in 1919, as a result of which the "Roman Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York" was formed, making its first appeal for funds in the spring of 1920. The permanent organization was launched and actual services started in the fall of that year.

The Roman Catholic Charities was a centralized, authoritative organization.<sup>41</sup> The Archbishop was president and treasurer, and his Secretary of Charities executive director. The Executive Council was composed of "capable men and women experienced in social work who advised his Grace on matters of general policy." In addition, an Advisory Council representing each organization in the Roman Catholic Charities was available for consultation on important questions.<sup>42</sup>

The purpose of the organization was to arrange for instruction in Christian doctrine and morals, in public and private institutions serving Catholics;<sup>43</sup> and also to unify all charitable work of the diocese, to plan to cover neglected fields, to raise social-work standards in member agencies, to represent the Roman Catholic Church in the field of charity and social action, and to raise funds for the charitable work of the Church. The central organization was to have six divisions:

1. General Administration—to provide information, coordination, research, accounts, and catechetical instruction.
2. Child Care—to include:
  - a. Establishment of a Central Reception Bureau.
  - b. Institutional standards.
  - c. Aftercare.
  - d. Boarding agencies.

---

<sup>40</sup>*First Annual Report of the Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York*, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

<sup>41</sup>See Outline of Organization, Chart 4, Appendix, p. 156.

<sup>42</sup>*Summary of Final Report*, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

<sup>43</sup>*Booklet on Original Plan*, outline of the Roman Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York (1919), p. 7.

- e. Foster homes.
- f. Work with unmarried mothers.
- g. Day nurseries.
- h. Summer camps.
- i. Big Brothers and Sisters.
- 3. Health.
- 4. Relief Societies.<sup>44</sup>
- 5. Protective Care.
- 6. Social Action—to embrace all club work for boys, girls, and young men and women.

Although the Roman Catholic Charities conducted an annual financial campaign through the local parishes of the diocese, it did not raise the annual budgets of the member agencies. The member agencies were to be autonomous as far as possible, both in local control and in the raising of annual budgets. The money raised in the annual campaign went to its central family welfare agency, to educational institutions, and to the support of those member agencies and projects that the Archbishop considered as being in need. In distributing financial aid, the central fund was used to supplement member-agency budgets; but, at the same time, the major portion was used for the central services.

Appropriations made for education by the Roman Catholic Charities were peculiar to this group alone. Education was the second largest appropriation of the budget; family welfare was first. But the Roman Catholic faith and its propagation have been at the center of the Roman Catholic Charities as of the Church.<sup>45</sup>

The Roman Catholic enrollment of contributors was based on the parishes of the diocese. In fact, of the three sectarian

---

<sup>44</sup>This division was to co-ordinate the St. Vincent de Paul Society, which had 117 parish conferences, and 297 organized parish relief societies, Lady of Charity auxiliaries, and independent Parish Aid Societies.

<sup>45</sup>Some Roman Catholic leaders do not believe that educational funds should be raised through "the charity appeal." Interview with Father D.



welfare federations, this was the only one whose basis of support was in the Church. The number of annual contributors to the Roman Catholic Charities fluctuated from 184,054 in 1922 to 300,000 in 1924, according to the *Annual Reports* of 1920 to 1938. The amounts raised through annual subscriptions varied during the same period from \$684,096 in 1935 to \$1,082,979 in 1929, with a total of \$16,648,442 for the 1920 to 1938 period, or an average of \$878,286.<sup>46</sup> The average contribution per person in 1935 was \$3.25.

The total annual income of the Roman Catholic Charities ranged from \$960,812 in 1920 to \$1,364,603 in 1938.<sup>47</sup> Over a period of nineteen years (1920 to 1938), this totaled \$23,192,694, or an average of \$1,220,668 annually. This amount was for the Roman Catholic Charities alone, and did not include the budgets of local organizations that were members of the federation.<sup>48</sup>

*Jewish social work.* Although the Jewish groups were sectarian, the type of federation developed by them was quite different from those of either of the other two. The movement to co-ordinate Jewish charity and social work originated in 1874,<sup>49</sup> in the area of relief, when the Hebrew Benevolent Society (a Portuguese Jewish agency) and the German Hebrew Benevolent Society merged. The Jews, however, like the Roman Catholics, felt increasingly the need to co-ordinate all their work and also that unity of action was necessary to secure increased support. A Council of Jewish Communal Institutions, composed of representatives of fourteen of the largest institutions, was formed in 1907 for the purpose of improving methods of social work and to effect economies in administration.

Various unsuccessful attempts at federation among Jewish

<sup>46</sup>See Appendix, Table VIII, p. 151.

<sup>47</sup>See Appendix, Table VIII, p. 151.

<sup>48</sup>Statistics on member-agency budgets were not available, and hence no comparison was made on this item with member agencies of the other federations.

<sup>49</sup>Glasser, Melvin A., *Jewish Federation*, unpublished manuscript.

welfare agencies were made before 1915, but in that year a comprehensive plan of co-ordination was proposed that resulted in the formation of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City. The name is significant, for this organization represented federation both of contributors and of institutions.

Many factors led to the creation of the Jewish Federation<sup>50</sup> (among them the pressure of taxes, for 1916 was the year of the Income Tax Amendment), but the primary one was the need to obtain sufficient financial support for Jewish philanthropy. World War I made the future uncertain, and welfare agencies were fearful about raising their budgets. It is significant that forty years elapsed between the first organized attempts at co-ordination and the formation of the Federation.

The Jewish Federation was controlled by a Board of Trustees, forty-two of whom were chosen from the boards of affiliated societies and twenty-four by the contributors (see Organizational Plan, Chart 3, p. 155). This organization was built upon the Jewish community and controlled by the representatives of the various charitable forces in that community. The purpose of the Federation was:

. . . to secure adequate support for philanthropic societies ministering to Jews of the Boroughs of Manhattan and the Bronx of the City of New York; to provide an efficient method of collecting and distributing contributions for the maintenance of such societies, in accordance with the wishes of the donors; to relieve the societies from the necessity of making separate appeals and collections and to enable them the more effectively to carry on their philanthropic activities; to foster co-operation among such societies and to avoid unnecessary duplication of philanthropic endeavor in the aforesaid boroughs.<sup>51</sup>

Standards were set for contributor membership, as well as for institutional societies. The Constitution stated clearly that the Board of Trustees that managed the Federation "shall not

<sup>50</sup>Interview with Melvin Glasser.

<sup>51</sup>*Constitution of the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City* (1915), Section II.

interfere with the management of any beneficiary society."<sup>52</sup> The number of trustees elected by each society was dependent upon the size of the budgetary grant made to that society.

The beneficiary societies were divided into nine groups: medical, child care, education, relief, special institution, employment, personal service, delinquency, and social-recreational.<sup>53</sup> Not all Jewish societies joined at the time the Federation was formed.<sup>54</sup> Many were excluded because they did not conform to the definition established by the Federation, while others were eligible but did not choose to join.<sup>55</sup>

The Federation was primarily a central agency for raising the current budgets of member societies. No society was allowed to make a separate appeal for its current budget, although it might receive legacies and funds for buildings and other special purposes.

In addition to the major function of raising current budgets for member agencies, the Federation rendered several other distinctive services.<sup>56</sup>

1. It acted as a co-ordinating agency for Jewish social work, and in this capacity sponsored communal surveys and carried on research work.

---

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*, Section IV.

<sup>53</sup>*Ibid.*, Section XII.

<sup>54</sup>Some societies still do not belong to the Federation.

<sup>55</sup>From the point of view of the Federation, these societies may have been too small; they may not have had acceptable social-work standards; their methods of raising money may not have been acceptable; and there may have been some that did not join because of "personality clashes." (Interview with Dr. Solomon Lowenstein.) From the point of view of the individual agency, there were some that thought they would lose their independence by joining a federation. Then there were those that had a group of subscribers who were personally interested in them, and not in a federation of societies. There were also "orthodox" agencies that resented the "reformed" tendencies of the Federation. (Interview with Melvin Glasser.)

<sup>56</sup>Jacobs, Herman, *"Some Aspects of the History of the Federation of Jewish Charities Movement."* Master's thesis (New York, The Graduate School for Jewish Social Work, 1933).



2. It served to represent Jewish social work on interfaith and community-welfare committees.

3. It conducted a purchasing service for member agencies.

4. It maintained various information services.

5. The Federation's fiscal assistance to member agencies served to raise standards of Jewish social work in New York City. Those agencies that became members had to maintain satisfactory standards or be subject to reduction of budget.<sup>57</sup>

In 1919, the year of the first drive, the Federation's budget was \$2,718,319; in 1929, the peak year in contributions, \$5,286,820<sup>58</sup> was raised. The drive conducted in 1936 brought in \$5,199,277, which almost equaled that of 1929. Total receipts between 1919 and 1938<sup>59</sup> amounted to \$81,663,028, or an average annual income of \$4,083,151. In 1935, the average contribution per person was \$117.

The number of contributors to the annual Federation drive varied from 24,323 in 1923 to 39,130 in 1938.<sup>60</sup> Although the emphasis in the Federation had been to raise the number of contributors each year, there has been little change. The average number for the period from 1923 to 1938 was 30,259.

*Protestant social work.* The Protestants in New York City further accepted the need for co-ordination of effort and were influenced by a will to emulate the Roman Catholic and Jewish groups. No detailed account of the organization, structure, and purpose of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies will be given here, but it is important to note that, as would be expected, the tendency toward centralization and unity of effort was far less strong among Protestant than among Jewish and Roman Catholic groups. Protestant social work was not firmly organized, as was that of the Roman Catholics and Jews, on a sectarian basis. The state's responsibility for social

<sup>57</sup>Interview with Dr. Solomon Lowenstein.

<sup>58</sup>See Appendix, Table IX, p. 152.

<sup>59</sup>See Appendix, Table IX, p. 152.

<sup>60</sup>Statistics on the number of contributors were not available for the first four years of the Federation history.

work, as well as the responsibility of private non-sectarian agencies, was recognized.

It is also important, as a basis for understanding the development of all three sectarian welfare federations, to indicate the marked change that took place in the character of social work as a whole in New York City between 1910 and 1934, and the different ways in which the three groups reacted to this change. In 1910, public finance in New York City supported 23.6 per cent and private finance 76.4 per cent of all outdoor relief, whereas twenty years later this situation had changed to the point where public resources were supporting 95.1 per cent of the total load. Also, public expenditures had increased over 180 times by 1934, totaling \$176,514,000.<sup>61</sup> This tremendous growth in social work carried on by Federal, state, and municipal organizations meant that the major load had shifted from private sectarian and non-sectarian social-work agencies to publicly administered agencies.

Nevertheless, the private agencies still carried a very substantial load. In fact, during the year 1935 they spent \$51,000,000 in New York City alone.<sup>62</sup> Of this amount, Jewish sectarian social work accounted for \$8,980,000, Roman Catholic social work for \$9,712,000, Protestant welfare agencies for \$13,053,000, and non-sectarian social agencies for \$19,376,000. The Jewish and Roman Catholic expenditures were comparatively easily differentiated, but this was not the case with Protestant and non-sectarian expenditures because of the lack of a clear-cut division between these groups.

Different sectarian groups had responded differently to the changing social work scene of New York City. The Roman Catholics and Jews were stimulated to strengthen their federations. The Protestants—with their deeply rooted tendency

<sup>61</sup>See Appendix, Table VI, p. 150. The total amount spent on health and welfare in New York City annually is about four hundred million dollars, of which at least three hundred and twenty million is spent by city departments. [See report, *A Statement on the F.P.W.A.*, (1942), p. 1.] The same approximate ratio is found in the above statistics of the outdoor relief.

<sup>62</sup>See Appendix, Table VII, p. 150.

to turn over social work to the state—saw no threat to their own integrity in the striking development of public services.

### Summary

The Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies and the Roman Catholic Charities were organized definitely on a sectarian basis, each with a sharply defined constituency, since there are actual Jewish and Roman Catholic communities—one religious-cultural, the other centered in an ecclesiastical faith. Both the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities have closely knit federations—the latter centralized and authoritarian, the former democratic in organization. The Roman Catholic Charities is the direct representative of the Archbishop, whereas the Jewish Federation is the elected representative of its member agencies and of the contributors, and to that degree is representative of the Jewish community.

Both Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations raise relatively large annual budgets. The raising of current budgets for member agencies is the major function of the Jewish Federation and affords the latter a definite means of raising social-work standards, thus enabling it to maintain a high grade of social work. In this regard, the Jewish Federation is unique; for while the Roman Catholic Charities raises some money for member agencies, it does not have so strong a financial lever for improving social-work standards, although it does have a unified religious bond and centralized control.

The Roman Catholic Charities allots its second largest amount of money to educational agencies, and in this respect is distinct among the sectarian welfare federations. The Jewish Federation, too, raises money for education, but in non-welfare areas. Likewise, the close relationship of the Roman Catholic Charities with the local churches is unique, for the Jewish Federation is not so closely identified with the synagogues.

In contrast with the two sectarian welfare federations stands the Protestant Federation, organized in 1920. This Federa-



tion is not clearly sectarian, nor does it have a sharply defined constituency; it has no closely knit organization, since it is not representative of all Protestants; it has neither centralized financing nor a financial lever for standard raising; and it is not aligned with the churches, as is the Roman Catholic Charities. As will be seen, the Protestants have been continually influenced in their thinking by the types of organization, motivations, and accomplishments of the other sectarian welfare federations. The Protestants have sought to increase their strength through adopting methods similar to those employed by the Jews and Roman Catholics. At the same time, they have sought to retain their own identity; to develop a federation in keeping with the Protestant tradition and the Protestant faith. It is with this fundamental problem that the following pages are concerned.

## CHAPTER II

# Brief History of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies

### The Beginnings (1920 to 1931)

*Background of Protestant Welfare Federation.* The original stimulus to co-ordination of Protestant social work in New York City came, not from the Protestant groups themselves, but from an outside source. In the interest of expediting social work among sectarian agencies, Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare of the City of New York, called an interfaith meeting in September, 1920, of representatives of those agencies that were receiving money from the city for the care of children. He felt impelled to form a committee of representatives of each of the three faiths to help and advise him in regard to welfare problems. Toward the close of the meeting, a "resolution was passed asking each faith to appoint six members to serve on such a committee as Commissioner Coler desired."<sup>1</sup>

This meeting must have raised certain basic questions for those Protestants who attended:

1. Who could represent Protestants in the welfare field?
2. Could Protestants have a representative on an interfaith committee, as did the Jews and the Roman Catholics?
3. What ties would hold Protestant welfare agencies together?
4. On what basis could Protestants form a sectarian welfare federation?

These questions were not openly considered; it remained for organizational experiment to bring them into focus. Even today they remain to a large degree unanswered.

---

<sup>1</sup>Address by Mrs. Willard Parker, "The History of Federation of Protestant Welfare" (April 21, 1925). On file in the F.P.W.A. office.

Some Protestant groups responded to Commissioner Coler's request. In fact, they went further. They also considered the need, long felt, for finding some permanent means of unifying their efforts in the social-work field. A few weeks after the meeting, an invitation was sent by Mrs. Willard Parker<sup>2</sup> "to thirty-two social agencies which might be described as Protestant or non-sectarian with Protestant boards and which were receiving public funds for the care of children,"<sup>3</sup> and also to fourteen people who were considered by the convener to be Protestant leaders in New York City. The purpose of the proposed meeting was to be twofold—namely, to choose Protestant representatives for an interfaith welfare committee, and to consider the possibility of forming a Protestant welfare federation of child-care institutions. In response to these invitations, forty-one persons, representing at least twenty-two children's agencies, came together October 27, 1920. At this meeting, "the deep interest of the Commissioner of Public Welfare in the formation of an interfaith committee to advise on matters pertaining to public welfare,"<sup>4</sup> was presented. Mrs. Willard Parker stated:

that she had felt for years the serious handicap under which Protestant agencies labored because there was no formal association in some way comparable to Jewish and Roman Catholic charitable associations.<sup>5</sup>

Those attending concurred in Mrs. Parker's opinion, and it was voted unanimously that:

... those present organize themselves into an association of Protestant welfare agencies to co-operate with the City Commissioner of Public Welfare and that a committee be set to work to arrange a permanent organization.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup>Mrs. Parker was on the board of both the Colored Orphan Asylum and the Protestant Big Sisters, and was interested in co-ordination among Protestant groups in the welfare field.

<sup>3</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Proposed Protestant Welfare Federation* (October 27, 1920).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.*



Mr. James H. Post,<sup>7</sup> who was temporary chairman, stated that he felt:

. . . a federation of any group of Protestant philanthropies so important that he was willing to finance for a year or two such a federation, if it was considered by those present as worth while.<sup>8</sup>

It is interesting to note that, in the initial stages of organization, the Protestants did not concern themselves with what did in fact constitute or with what should properly constitute a Protestant group in the field of social work. "What can we do?" was the question that representatives from the various Protestant welfare agencies considered, rather than "Who are we?" Mrs. Willard Parker was asked "to draw up a statement as to the need of a Protestant welfare federation, and a proposed plan which could be sent to all Protestant churches and other agencies."<sup>9</sup> The federation to be formed was

1. To provide an Information Service on available Protestant institutions and agencies caring for children.
2. To represent Protestant welfare agencies on interfaith committees to deal with city and state departments.
3. To disseminate information concerning the financial needs of member organizations.
4. To provide a Service Bureau for placing of the dependent or handicapped child.<sup>10</sup>

At the second meeting, attended by Commissioner Coler himself, the function of the proposed federation became more clearly formulated, the needs of the children's agencies assumed a position of major importance, and the subject of forming a financial federation of wide scope was stressed. Commissioner Coler pointed out

1. The financial needs of the children's agencies and the place of the Protestant churches in meeting these needs.

---

<sup>7</sup>Mr. James H. Post represented several child-welfare agencies. He was a generous philanthropist and a well-known Protestant layman. Mr. Post remained president of the Federation until his death in 1938.

<sup>8</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Proposed Protestant Welfare Federation* (October 27, 1920).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.*

2. That it was the function of the church rather than the state to look after the religious training of children.<sup>11</sup>

In the discussion of a financial federation, it was proposed to include all non-Jewish and non-Roman Catholic welfare agencies, which would, of course, bring in non-sectarian family relief-giving agencies.<sup>12</sup> At this second meeting, Mr. James H. Post, who spoke in favor of a Protestant financial federation, stated

. . . that the proposed federation of welfare agencies could be carried on separately from the financial federation, which is being agitated actively at this time.<sup>13</sup>

At the second meeting, it was not clear in the minds of the representatives whether or not the two functions of co-ordinating the services of Protestant child-caring agencies and providing financial assistance to all Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies could be combined in a single Protestant federation, as they were in the Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations.

Although the federation had not as yet been formally organized, the need for co-ordination among Protestant welfare agencies was felt to be so great that an executive was appointed to head the proposed organization.<sup>14</sup> Her first major assignment was to make a study of the number and function of Protestant institutions caring for children in Greater New York. The executive secretary prepared a manual,<sup>15</sup> which revealed that there were thirty-eight Protestant institutions caring for children,<sup>16</sup> of which twenty-two had sent repre-

---

<sup>11</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Proposed Protestant Welfare Federation* (January 6, 1921).

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>14</sup>Miss Martha A. Taylor was employed as executive secretary soon after the second meeting.

<sup>15</sup>See report of Miss Taylor's survey. On file in the office of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.

<sup>16</sup>Forty-four were listed, but definite information was given concerning thirty-eight. Of these thirty-eight institutions, thirty-one were member agencies of the federation in 1942, four have gone out

sentatives to the first meeting for organizing a Protestant welfare federation. These agencies became the first members of that federation.

Although the federation was to change in later years, the major part of its program has been to provide for the needs of the children's institutions, and the agencies that brought the Protestant welfare federation into existence have remained as its center. It should be brought out that, even with the actual formation of a federation, the term "Protestant agency" was never really defined.

*First Organization (1921 to 1925).* On October 6, 1921, almost one year after the first meeting of representatives, a Protestant welfare federation was officially organized, with the drawing up of a constitution, and the adoption of by-laws. According to the Constitution, it was to be called "The Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children." It was to have three major functions:

1. To give aid and counsel to Protestant agencies and institutions caring for children and other dependents or delinquents.
2. To assist in the aftercare and supervision of children discharged from Protestant institutions.
3. To inform the Protestant community of the work being done, and to secure its active interest and support.<sup>17</sup>

The term "Protestant children," although not defined in the constitution, was used to "describe all those children who are not definitely affiliated with either Jewish or Roman Catholic faith."<sup>18</sup> Thus, a definition was reached through a process of elimination, rather than through explaining the distinctive meaning of the term "Protestant."

The Federation was launched on an annual budget of less than five thousand dollars, and the work was to be done

of existence, one has not reached a standard to be admitted into federation membership, and two are in New Jersey and hence are not entitled to membership.

<sup>17</sup>*Constitution of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children*, as first adopted (1921).

<sup>18</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children* (October 6, 1921).

primarily by an executive secretary, with part-time secretarial assistance. It was not until 1923 that a full-time children's worker was added to the staff. The Protestant welfare federation was not conceived in comparable terms with either the Roman Catholic or Jewish welfare federations, since it was not to be, either fiscal, all-inclusive, large-staffed, or many-divisioned, but primarily a federation of *some* Protestant child-care agencies whose representatives employed a secretary to assist in some needed Protestant social work and to represent these agencies on interfaith committees.

Although during the first two years one secretary comprised the employed personnel, a survey of the needs of Protestant child-care institutions was made; and it was discovered that, except for institutions for the colored, every Protestant children's institution had vacancies. There were enough facilities for white Protestant children. At this time, Mr. Edwin Gould, a philanthropist interested in Protestant children, was planning to build an institution for young girls. As a result of the survey, however, Mr. Gould did not build the proposed institution, but instead built a needed Clearing Bureau.<sup>19</sup> The Federation had by this time clearly served some of its purposes—namely, the avoidance of duplication, and the improvement of social work in behalf of Protestant children.

The form of organization of the Federation was democratic and simple. Each member agency elected a representative to the Board, which in turn directed the Federation. The organization was of, by, and for the twenty-two member agencies that were caring for Protestant children.

The Federation soon found itself in conflict with another Protestant children's agency, the Protestant Protective Unity League, which had been organized the year before. The League was interdenominational and, as its name suggests,

---

<sup>19</sup>See Miss Taylor's reports for 1922 and 1923. When Miss Taylor became executive secretary, there was practically no organization; but when she left in 1924, there was a functioning Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children. Mrs. Martha Falconer succeeded her as executive secretary.



was to assist Protestant children who were brought before the courts. It was largely anti-Roman Catholic and anti-Jewish.<sup>20</sup> A representative of this organization had attended the initial meeting of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children, and it was agreed at that time that the Protestant Protective Unity League

... could in no sense take the place of the proposed organization,<sup>21</sup> [since] one organization wanted to save souls, and the other wanted to do social work among Protestant children.<sup>22</sup>

The Protestant Protective Unity League changed both its function and its name three times within the next twelve years. In 1927, it became, remaining so until 1936, the Welfare Department of the Greater New York Federation of Churches. As Protestant Social Service, Incorporated, which was organized in 1932, it:

1. Provided information for Protestants regarding social service.
2. Conducted a waiting home for the Protestant aged, a much needed service.
3. Assisted Protestant ministers with social service.
4. Specialized in the care of single women by running an emergency shelter and providing relief.<sup>23</sup>

This organization ceased to exist in the winter of 1936.<sup>24</sup>

Protestant Social Service, Incorporated, and its predecessors, and the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children had consulted at various times and had agreed to divide

<sup>20</sup>Interviews with P. W., H. R., J. Z.

<sup>21</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Proposed Protestant Welfare Federation* (October 27, 1920).

<sup>22</sup>Interview with Mrs. Willard Parker.

<sup>23</sup>Publicity folder of Protestant Social Service, Incorporated; also interview with the executive director.

<sup>24</sup>One member of the board (H. R.) gave three reasons for the closing of this organization:

1. The emergency of caring for single women had passed.
2. Although the income had increased annually, it was not stable.
3. Those persons who had been the chief benefactors withdrew their support.

areas of service; yet there was at no time any genuine co-operative planning. The two organizations<sup>25</sup> were often confusing to the community because they were both represented as speaking for Protestants, and both were attempting community-wide Protestant social work. In broad functions, they overlapped and sometimes conflicted. These facts bring out clearly one limitation in Protestant social work—namely, that no matter how much two different Protestant organizations overlap in services and confuse the community, there is no ecclesiastical or sectarian organization that can prevent them from so doing.

Regardless of competition, however, the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children continued to co-ordinate the interinstitutional work of member agencies, to represent these agencies on interfaith committees, and to work on the general problem of Protestant welfare federation. It had grown from an agency of twenty-two member agencies in 1921 to one of thirty-six in 1925, and its annual budget had increased in the same period from less than five thousand to more than thirteen thousand dollars.

*Issues Become More Sharply Defined (1925 to 1931).* It was not long before certain definite problems confronted the Federation that were to change its fundamental objectives and its form of organization. Some of these problems arose from the fact that, from the beginning, the term "*Protestant*" had never been accurately defined. Others had been apparent at the early meetings of representatives that preceded the organization of the Federation. The organization asked itself these questions:

1. Are more than children to be the concern of the Protestant welfare federation?
2. If the scope is enlarged what will be a satisfactory title for the agency?
3. What is to be the relationship of the Protestant Federation

---

<sup>25</sup>The Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children and its successors, and Protestant Social Service, Incorporated, and its predecessors.

to Protestant churches, as the latter works through the Greater New York Federation of Churches?<sup>26</sup>

4. Is it desirable for the Federation to seek to become a financial federation for Protestant agencies, as the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities have been for their respective constituents?

5. What form of organization can best make articulate a Protestant position in social work?

Committees were appointed in 1925 to consider the first three questions; the fourth was considered by the board, Federation membership, and agencies in the community; the fifth was settled by the board itself.

The committee on enlarging the services of the Federation reported a substantial need of co-ordination among the homes for the aged. In fact, at this time there were about three dozen Protestant homes for the aged in New York City that were in no way federated.<sup>27</sup> Although the committee reported on the need, other items seemed to be more pressing; and no expansion in program to include work among the homes for aged was undertaken by the Federation during this period.

The committee that was to consider a change in name proposed that the organization be called "The Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants." Discussion concerning the proposed name centered around two points:

1. *On the Term "Protestant."* Should it be stressed; should it be made meaningful; or should it be assumed and taken for granted? It was decided not to stress the name.

2. *On the Scope of Protestant organization.* It was the desire of some persons to seek to have an all-inclusive organization, and to bring together all the social-welfare organizations that were non-Jewish and non-Roman Catholic. A more moderate opinion prevailed, and it was agreed to enlarge the scope of the Federation as the demand came, rather than to make the term all-inclusive.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>26</sup>In the early years, this was primarily a relationship with the Greater New York Federation of Churches.

<sup>27</sup>They were eligible for membership in the Welfare Council, to which a few belonged; but there was no co-ordination in a sectarian way.

<sup>28</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children* (February 17, 1925).

Within one month, the name proposed by the committee, "Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants," was accepted,<sup>29</sup> although the term "Protestant" was not clarified.

The Committee on the Relationship between the Federation and the Greater New York Federation of Churches made a report and

. . . suggested that the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants become the adjunct to the Social Service Department of the Greater New York Federation of Churches.<sup>30</sup>

Here was a first test as to whether a Protestant welfare federation and a Protestant federation of churches could come together. At this time, the answer was "No." The Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants felt that it was:

. . . too influential a group to be under the direction of the Federation of Churches and that it would be impractical to try to amalgamate the two. The activities of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants were not closely enough related to parochial affairs to work successfully under the Federation of Churches.<sup>31</sup>

Through interview, it was learned that at least two additional factors were behind the decision not to bring together the Federation of Agencies and the Federation of Churches. In regard to composition on the governing boards of the two federations, one person stated:

The Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestants was primarily lay-controlled and did not want ministers to share the control. It liked its lay control. The Greater New York Federation of Churches was primarily controlled by ministers. The two agencies did not see eye to eye.<sup>32</sup>

The Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants started as

---

<sup>29</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children* (March 17, 1925).

<sup>30</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (May 17, 1925). It seems as if a more conciliatory term than "adjunct" might have been used.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>32</sup>Interview with Q. T.



a lay organization and remained such, and it was hesitant about uniting with a more ecclesiastical agency.

There was also a difference of viewpoint based on varied interpretations of terms, as one person stated:

Religious terminology stood in the way. Social work and theology have not always achieved a common meeting ground. Some social workers refer rather disparagingly to the religious, and those who are in church circles do not always see clearly the task which the social worker is trying to do.<sup>33</sup>

However, while these two organizations failed to unite in 1925, the problem of the relationship between the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants and the Greater New York Federation of Churches was to come up again at a later time.

The proper financial function and responsibility of the Federation to Protestant welfare agencies became a paramount issue and remained the center of attention for more than a year. The fact that the Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations were both fiscal agencies was brought out at a board meeting, and the minutes stated:

No work of value could be done until the Protestant Federation became as strong as the Jewish and Roman Catholic Welfare Federations.<sup>34</sup>

At the same meeting, Mr. W. H. Gratwick, member of the board of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants and director of New York State Department Charities, said that "the Protestant Federation could raise money for any emergency, if it were only organized strongly enough."<sup>35</sup> There was a feeling among certain leaders that a Protestant financial federation was needed. Mr. James H. Post, however, reported at a later meeting<sup>36</sup> that "his lawyer had considered the submergence of the Federation of Agencies Caring for

<sup>33</sup>Interview with S. T.

<sup>34</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (March 16, 1926).

<sup>35</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (December 15, 1926).

Protestants into an enlarged financial federation as impractical." However, the majority of those at the meeting considered the idea practical and desired to take definite steps toward that end.

At the same meeting, it was proposed that the name of the Federation be changed to "Protestant Charities Aid Association," thus placing the emphasis upon raising money for Protestant welfare agencies. The assumption was that, if a financial federation could be formed, this would hold together the Protestant welfare agencies. Representatives of the State Charities Aid Association proposed the name "Protestant Charities" for the new organization, in order to avoid confusion with the State Charities Aid Association.

By June, 1927, some of the members of the board of the Federation desired that immediate action<sup>37</sup> be taken on an all-inclusive Protestant federation, with emphasis upon raising money for Protestant welfare agencies. It was felt that if an organization comparable to the Jewish Federation and Roman Catholic Charities was to be formed, the Protestant Federation should represent only one division of it. One board member proposed that the present board be replaced by "twenty-four hard-boiled financiers from Wall Street,"<sup>38</sup> who should speak for all Protestant and non-sectarian charitable organizations in New York City.

A repercussion of the proposal to form an all-inclusive Protestant financial federation came from the non-sectarian family-welfare organizations. These were not in favor of the proposed Protestant Charities. They did not want to be classified as Protestant organizations. Many of the non-sectarian social-welfare organizations may have admitted that they were Protestant in origin, control, and support, but they did not want to be known as Protestant social-welfare agencies. They were chartered as non-sectarian. Also, the proposed setup seemed, from the point of view of social workers and social-

---

<sup>37</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (June 23, 1927).

<sup>38</sup>*Ibid.*

work executives, "a form of autocratic control which was not justifiable under the circumstances."<sup>39</sup>

Nevertheless, in the face of considerable objection, a plan for an organization to be known as "Protestant Charities" was presented. The proposed organization was to be formed for four purposes:

1. To aid, support, advise, and co-operate with charitable, correctional, or educational corporations, associations or other agencies, conducted primarily for the benefit of persons of the Protestant Evangelical Christian faith in the City of New York and to bring about a better co-ordination of their work and the avoidance of duplication of effort.

2. To solicit moneys from the public authorities or private donors for distribution among agencies of the character mentioned above.

3. To foster co-operation among the above-mentioned agencies; to avoid waste in the administration of such agencies, and with that end in view to act on behalf of the agencies in making appeals to the public, thus relieving them of making separate appeals.

4. To collect and exchange with other agencies, as well as the Protestant community, information concerning work being done and the needs.<sup>40</sup>

Here indeed was a plan for a Protestant welfare federation that would seek to parallel the Jewish and Roman Catholic federations. Certainly, it was a far cry from a Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children to this suggestion of an all-inclusive Protestant Charities.

The proposal to establish Protestant Charities failed to secure enough votes at a special meeting called for that purpose on July 28, 1927, and was temporarily dropped. It was decided that there was not enough cohesiveness among the agencies to make possible the establishment of a Protestant federation that would be primarily a fiscal agency. Membership ties were different from those that held together the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities, which

<sup>39</sup>Report presented by W. A. Hodson, *ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>See *Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (March 15, 1927).

had no definite link with non-sectarian welfare agencies. The proposal to include sectarian and non-sectarian welfare agencies was responsible for the defeat of the attempt to form a Protestant fiscal welfare federation. It was because the two types of agencies did not have strong common bonds that the proposal failed.

Although the proposal to form an all inclusive financial Protestant welfare federation was defeated, the board, in October of that year, amended the Constitution and Articles of Incorporation to give the Federation financial functions and to confer on it the legal right to do what the Protestant Charities had sought to do functionally:

1. To aid, support, advise and co-operate with Protestant and non-sectarian charitable, benevolent, correctional or educational corporations, associations or other agencies in the City of New York and its environs.

2. To bring before the Protestant and non-sectarian members of the community the needs of the work of such agencies, and to collect and receive moneys for distribution among such agencies, or for its own direct corporate objects, and to apportion and distribute the same according to the requirements, or in conformity with the wishes of donors, as the case may be.

3. To bring about a better co-ordination of the work of such agencies, and the avoidance of, or elimination of duplication of effort.<sup>41</sup>

The new Constitution empowered the Federation to co-ordinate social work for both Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies; no line was drawn between these. The Federation was also empowered to seek to aid the Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies in financial ways, if possible.

Not long after the Federation legally became a fiscal agency, the first gift was received. In 1929, Mr. Herbert Moore Baldwin established a Youth's Foundation.<sup>42</sup> The following year, Mr. Baldwin's entire estate, which at the time of his death was valued at slightly less than one million dollars, was re-

---

<sup>41</sup>See *Certificate of Incorporation of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants*, as amended (October 19, 1927).

<sup>42</sup>Valued at \$37,316 in 1939.



ceived by the Federation as a trust fund,<sup>43</sup> the income from which was to be given annually to Protestant welfare agencies. These annual awards made it possible for the Federation to serve its membership financially,<sup>44</sup> thus changing it from an organization dependent upon member-agency dues to one that could contribute financially to its member agencies, even though only in a small way.

A most important organizational change—one that was to affect the Federation's policy, operation, and relation to member agencies and to the community—took place during the period when fiscal federation was under discussion. In fact, this change was an outgrowth of the financial policy adopted by the Federation. From the beginning the governing board, which was composed of a representative from each member agency (primarily child-care), had had difficulty in raising the annual budget of the Federation. Accordingly, in 1924 an Advisory Board of well-known Protestant laymen was organized, primarily to secure financial support for the Federation. This financial advisory board gradually assumed greater control of the agency, and a change in organization became inevitable.

During the year 1926, there had been much discussion about a stronger board. At one board meeting,<sup>45</sup> it was suggested that the "present board act as a sub-committee for institutions." At a later meeting, the chairman suggested the following recommendation, which was subsequently carried:

That a committee be appointed . . . for the purpose of in-

---

<sup>43</sup>The court ruled that the bequest was an outright gift. It was valued at \$495,562 in 1939, having decreased considerably within a decade.

<sup>44</sup>But not to the same degree as the other sectarian welfare federations. The Jewish Welfare Federation raised approximately 50 per cent of the current annual budgets of its member agencies, and Roman Catholic Charities a somewhat lower percentage. Of the four million dollars raised in contributions by Protestant welfare agencies in 1939, however, only \$18,650, or 0.4 per cent, was awarded from the Baldwin Fund.

<sup>45</sup>See *Minutes of Meeting of Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (September 14, 1926).

interpreting and defining clearly the policies of this organization. If it seems wise and best, to set up a Board of Directors chiefly made up of outstanding Protestants, whose interests cover a wider field than that related to children's agencies. . . . This Board to meet three or four times a year for the purpose of formulating and reviewing the business and the policies of the Federation. From this Board an Executive Committee be selected. The Executive Committee to meet monthly to handle the business affairs and to carry out the policies of the Board in detail.<sup>46</sup>

The previous board had been composed entirely of representatives of member agencies and had been elected by the member agencies. Now there was a self-perpetuating board composed of leading Protestant laymen, but not elected by the agencies. This plan of organization made for centralization of control and offered opportunities for the selection of outstanding Protestant laymen as board members, but it changed the function of the previous board to that of an advisory group.

Some members of the Advisory Board became directors of the new board, and some who were on the former governing board became members of a new Advisory Council, which later became the Administrative Council. This Council was organized:

. . . to conduct the practical charitable activities of the corporation, subject to the supervision of the Board of Directors, and to make recommendations to the Board of Directors with respect to the distribution work [financial allocations] and any other matters which may be submitted to it by the Board or any committee thereof for recommendation and advice.<sup>47</sup>

The Administrative Council did not have power comparable to that of the Board of Affiliated Societies of the Jewish Welfare Federation. The name "Administrative Council" was misleading, since the Council was primarily advisory. It paral-

---

<sup>46</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (January 18, 1927).

<sup>47</sup>*By-laws of the Administrative Council*, Section II; and *By-laws of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants*, Section VIII. Both sections are identical.

leled more nearly the Advisory Boards of the Roman Catholic Charities.

In 1939, Mr. A. E. Foster, a member of the Administrative Council, after making an analysis of its Constitution, pointed out the definite functions as well as the limitations of the Council:

It is obvious that the Council was designed to aid the Federation in accomplishing the purposes for which it was organized.

The individuals who make up the Council have been chosen to render service to the Federation through the Council. They have not been chosen to receive instructions as to how they should carry on their duties as officers or trustees of the agencies in which they are individually interested. The Council is not a forum for the discussion of an agency in which one of the members is interested.

The members of the Council are not delegates; they have no duty to report back to their respective agencies. That it never was intended by the framers of the By-laws of the Federation that the Council should be a forum and its members should be delegates, is shown clearly by the fact that there is nothing in the By-laws requiring that members of the Council shall be connected in any way with one of the agencies.<sup>48</sup>

Yet the Administrative Council afforded the only representation that the member agencies had in the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants. The Federation had moved organizationally in a definite direction. It had transformed itself from a representative organization to an organization with a self-perpetuating board of outstanding Protestants that provided services for member agencies. The Federation had become an independent agency, and not merely an association of agencies. The Board of Directors was now composed of Protestants who had achieved prominence in the community,<sup>49</sup> but who had not been chosen solely because of their connection with a particular Protestant social-welfare institution.

---

<sup>48</sup>Memorandum on "The Function of the Administrative Council." See also *Minutes of Meeting of the Administrative Council* (May, 1939).

<sup>49</sup>For the membership of the first Board of Directors and that of the present Board, see Appendix, p. 137.

The Federation was now controlled by Protestants—but by Protestants who were chosen, not by the existing Protestant agencies of the community, but by the Federation itself.

This change in organization also brought about a change in policy with regard to membership dues. Prior to 1927, member agencies had been assessed according to the size of their respective budgets. With the change in organizational control, however, all member agencies were instead assessed ten dollars a year, regardless of size. The Federation had decided not to rely upon member-agency dues as a chief source of its income. In fact, the income received from the agencies was to be considered nominal.

Despite the many problems of organization, the services of the Federation continued to expand. It had begun primarily as an agency co-ordinating the work of child-care agencies, giving direct service in case work with children who were committed, through the courts and from private homes, to institutions and foster homes. In 1923, it expanded its services to include aftercare. The staff<sup>50</sup> was correspondingly enlarged, and information services were extended. The case load increased steadily, so that in 1928 three hundred and seventy-five cases were handled and one hundred and ninety children placed.<sup>51</sup> In that year, a full-time case worker was employed exclusively for child placement. In addition to these direct services, the secretary and assistant acted as consultants and advisers to member agencies, represented these agencies on interfaith welfare committees before City and State Welfare Departments, and assisted in general co-ordinating work. From 1925 to 1930, the membership increased from thirty-six to forty-four, and the annual budget from over thirteen thousand dollars to over nineteen thousand.

---

<sup>50</sup>Miss Louise C. Cutter, who had been assistant secretary since 1925, succeeded Mrs. Martha Falconer as executive secretary in August, 1927.

<sup>51</sup>For the number of cases handled and children placed by the Case Work Department, see Appendix, Table X, p. 152.



## Setting a more definite pattern (1931 to 1942)

The years from 1931 to 1942 were marked by changes that were far-reaching. A more definite pattern of work was emerging; basic problems were coming into sharper relief. The Federation again changed its name, and this time adopted one that seemed alike to the Board and its member agencies to express more fully its real function. It sought to clarify its field by defining a Protestant agency. It experimented further with a plan of fiscal relationship with welfare agencies. Its membership and scope of services became greatly enlarged, and it established a policy of closer relationship with the Federations of Churches and found a means of carrying out this policy. The Federation, which had related itself to the Protestant churches, sought to be the representative of the Protestants of the community, together with community co-ordinating agencies.

*Establishment of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies (1931).* The fiscal function of the Federation in relation to its member agencies and its profession of approximating the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities were subjects of sharp discussions from 1927 to 1931. Although one plan had been rejected in 1927, the agitation for a financial federation had continued until, in 1931, a new plan for an organization to be known as "The Federation of Protestant Charities" was proposed.<sup>52</sup> As the name suggests, it was to be inclusive of all Protestant agencies; but again no distinction was made between Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies. The new plan too was rejected, but the agitation it gave rise to had important results. The Federation did change its name, and the board defined a Protestant agency.

The name "Federation of Protestant Agencies, Incorporated" was adopted by the Board in place of the proposed "Federation of Protestant Charities," which included all agen-

---

<sup>52</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (October 10, 1931).

cies, non-sectarian as well as Protestant. There were *Protestant* agencies in the community, and the Board now conceived it to be the function of the Federation to co-ordinate these. The word "Welfare" was added later, on the ground that such a term made the title more specific and more accurate. By eliminating non-sectarian agencies and by placing the emphasis upon the term "Protestant," it was necessary for the Board to define this term, which it did.

*Definition of a Protestant Agency.* Since the establishment of the Federation, the term "Protestant agency" had been used as meaning non-Jewish and non-Roman Catholic. As such, it was found to include non-sectarian agencies that were Protestant in origin and in control but not Protestant in a sectarian sense. The Constitution of the Federation had even grouped the two together. However, in 1931, in order more clearly and accurately to limit the constituency of the Federation, and to clarify the relationship between non-sectarian and Protestant agencies, the Board defined as a Protestant agency:

An agency which is Protestant in origin, control and support, and which is admittedly Protestant, although the service of such an agency may reach Jews and Roman Catholics, constitutes a Protestant agency.<sup>53</sup>

This definition excluded the non-sectarian agencies, which, although in most instances Protestant in origin, did not wish to be designated as Protestant. There were now four classes of private welfare agencies: Protestant, non-sectarian, Jewish, and Roman Catholic. The definition gave a specific basis for membership in the Federation, not of ecclesiastical authority—as in the case of the Roman Catholic Charities—or on religious-cultural ties—as in the case of the Jewish Federation—but primarily on its service in the community and on an acceptance of a classification as Protestant. Although this definition still was open to varying interpretations, for the first time a definite foundation had been established for membership in the Federation.

---

<sup>53</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Incorporated* (October 26, 1931).

This definition of a Protestant agency, as well as the change in name to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, was reflected in a revised Constitution, also accepted in 1931.<sup>54</sup> The term "non-sectarian" was omitted in the Constitution, and only the word "Protestant" left to describe the agencies with which the Federation was to work. Two of the five articles described the work of co-ordination; and three articles were concerned with finances of the Federation, giving it the right "to collect and receive money for agencies, and for the Federation's own corporate purposes."

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies now became, both by Constitution and in fact, the co-ordinating agency inclusive of all Protestant welfare agencies that desired federation. It was also constitutionally a fiscal federation—that is, it could collect and receive money for member agencies, which meant that it could seek to raise their annual budgets or accept bequests for them. It was also entitled to collect and receive money for its own purposes. Actually, however, the financial function of the Federation served only its own corporate purposes, and it did not become a fiscal federation in the sense of the Jewish Federation or the Roman Catholic Charities.

*The Protestant Foundation (1931 to 1938).* When, in 1931, the Board attempted to bring Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies into a fiscal federation, it found that there were centrifugal forces holding the agencies apart, and also that the community did not readily distinguish between the two types of agencies. In the interest of centralized financing for these agencies, however, the Board desired to experiment further and subsequently established a Protestant Foundation.

The Protestant Foundation was to encourage Protestant prospective donors to contribute gifts that would be held for member agencies of the Federation, and to secure legacies and gifts for distribution on behalf of Protestant charities. Although the Foundation was to solicit gifts and bequests on

---

<sup>54</sup>*Certificate of Extension or Change of Purposes and Powers*, December 4, 1931. See *Articles of Incorporation F.P.W.A.*

behalf of Protestant agencies, as defined by the Board, yet it was not required to limit itself to serving such agencies, but was also to be available for donors for the benefit of non-sectarian agencies.

The establishment of the Protestant Foundation was an intricate and extensive undertaking. After much preliminary work, it was decided to establish the Foundation co-ordinate with, but separate from, the Federation. Considerable time was taken to prepare for, and then actually to establish, the organization. One of the first projects of the Foundation was the preparation and publishing of a *Protestant Manual*. The *Manual* was intended for the use of benefactors, attorneys, trust officers, and others who might be concerned with the making of gifts and bequests, and with the creation of trust funds for Protestant agencies in the welfare field. More than a hundred institutions and agencies were included.<sup>55</sup> Another step was the formation of a board for the Foundation; the final one was the actual incorporation. In 1936, the Protestant Foundation was incorporated. The two organizations—the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Incorporated, and the Protestant Foundation, Incorporated, had interlocking Boards of Directors. The purpose of the Protestant Foundation was to provide a fiscal instrument, not only to meet the needs of the member agencies of the Federation, but also of non-member agencies that might be designated by donors: it was thereby to give continuity to Protestant social work as a whole.

But the Protestant Foundation encountered marked difficulties and was a short-lived experiment. Protestants failed to distinguish between the Protestant Foundation and the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.<sup>56</sup> The former had no financial assets of its own,<sup>57</sup> and the Board of Directors

---

<sup>55</sup>Twelve member agencies of the Federation did not desire to be listed in the *Manual*.

<sup>56</sup>Revealed by interviews with ministers, social workers, and member-agency representatives.

<sup>57</sup>Flanagan, Sue, *History of the Protestant Foundation in New*



of the Federation could not agree on the advisability of transferring the Baldwin Fund to the Foundation. Moreover, it was gradually disclosed that the Board of Directors of the Federation and the Board of Directors of the Foundation actually felt that the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, by its charter, was equipped to do what the Protestant Foundation was attempting to do. It seemed to be the opinion of both boards that one central Protestant welfare organization was sufficient for the purposes desired.<sup>58</sup> Also, there was a growth of sentiment in the community in favor of the establishment of the Greater New York Community Fund, in 1938, which was to be an agency to supplement current budgets of all qualified welfare agencies, both sectarian and non-sectarian. Finally, the depression years were not a propitious time for launching this particular venture.<sup>59</sup>

The active promotion of the Protestant Foundation was officially discontinued at the close of the year 1938. The Foundation remained incorporated, but it became primarily a paper organization.

The experiment of establishing the Protestant Foundation focused attention on some significant problems that confronted the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies in its financial relationship with member agencies and that threw light upon its operation. The experiment did not reveal a clear-cut conviction as to the kind of fiscal welfare organization, if any, that Protestant welfare agencies desired. In the experiment

---

*York City* (1939), pp. 56-57. Manuscript on file in the F.P.W.A. office, in New York City.

<sup>58</sup>There was confusion on this issue because, according to the State of New York banking laws [see letter by Henry Fletcher on this subject in *Minutes of the Executive Committee of the F.P.W.A.* (November 19, 1931)], no agency other than a bank or an agency incorporated for that purpose can act as financial trustee for funds. In this case, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies could not undertake a campaign for trust funds on behalf of member agencies. The funds that the Federation already held might be considered trust funds, but legally they were outright gifts to the Federation.

<sup>59</sup>Flanagan, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

only one form of organization had been tried. There had not been found either the inner forces or the community pressure to form a sectarian fiscal agency for Protestant welfare agencies.<sup>60</sup> In the second place, as has been stated, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies was a closed corporation. The individual agencies had not been consulted on the Foundation experiment, except as possible financial recipients; and certain of the larger Protestant welfare agencies that had only nominal membership in the Federation had their own plans for trust funds.<sup>61</sup> Also, in keeping with this policy, the Protestant churches had been taken into consideration only as a field of cultivation. It was shown that members of Protestant churches who were solicited for financing a sectarian welfare federation were not directly represented on the Board of the Federation.

*Increased Membership and Services.* Along with the change in name, the definition of a Protestant agency, and the experiment of the Protestant Foundation came a marked increase in membership, and an enlargement of services by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. These various developments were related. The Federation wanted to include within its membership as many as possible of the Protestant welfare agencies—not only agencies and institutions for children, but agencies for youth, health, the aged, special groups, and general services. Since a Protestant agency had been defined, a definite constituency of agencies was designated. Also, the *Protestant Manual*, which the Protestant Foundation published, was a means of enlisting membership in the Federation.

An important community issue at this time, which centered about the Federation, was a factor in increasing the Federation's membership. With the country in the midst of a depression and relief agencies being taxed to capacity, the

---

<sup>60</sup>Of the selected list of fourteen board members interviewed, not one proposed a plan.

<sup>61</sup>Interview with Walter Diack, executive vice-president, New York City Y.M.C.A.

people of New York City were engaged in raising a community fund to assist in the financing of welfare agencies. Both Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations were to receive a share of the community funds, and certain Protestant leaders became concerned about possible allotments for their organizations. As a result of agitation on the part of these leaders and of a survey of Protestant welfare agencies and church social services, made by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and the Federations of Churches, a fund<sup>62</sup> was allotted for Protestant social services. This Protestant agitation continued to focus attention on sectarian social work and gave publicity to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies,<sup>63</sup> which had shared both in the concern for sectarian interests and in the survey. In this manner, a larger number of Protestant welfare agencies were brought into membership in the Federation.

The membership of the Federation increased by ninety-one in six years (1931 to 1937), from sixty-six to a total of 157.

TABLE I

GROWTH OF AGENCY MEMBERSHIP IN FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT  
WELFARE AGENCIES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Members</i>
1921 .....	22	1931 .....	66
1922 .....	28	1932 .....	71
1923 .....	30	1933 .....	72
1924 .....	36	1934 .....	104
1925 .....	41	1935 .....	116
1926 .....	40	1936 .....	144
1927 .....	41	1937 .....	157
1928 .....	43	1938 .....	157
1929 .....	45	1939 .....	157
1930 .....	44	1940 .....	157

As Table I shows, the Federation began in 1921 with a mem-

<sup>62</sup>About two hundred thousand dollars from the Community Fund for the first year and a hundred and fifty thousand dollars for the second. It was then discontinued.

<sup>63</sup>See *Survey of Protestant Social Service in New York City* (1936). Mimeographed.

bership of twenty-two; and, although there was a gradual increase, the marked enlargement of membership came after 1931. Whereas the membership had begun entirely in the child-care field, in 1930 thirty-nine of the forty-four member agencies were children's agencies and five were general service agencies; and in 1931, fifty-five of the sixty-six member agencies were children's agencies, seven were homes for the aged, and four were hospitals. By 1937, a membership of a hundred and fifty-seven was distributed as follows: sixty-nine child-care agencies, twenty-four youth agencies, fourteen health agencies, thirty-three homes for the aged, two Seamen's Associations, two sheltered workshops, and thirteen general services.

Accompanying the increase in membership, a definite effort was made by the Federation to provide the agencies with new services and to enlarge former services to meet increased demands. First, a field consultant was added to the staff to assist member agencies with their institutional work and to make field surveys. Three social workers were added to the staff to head the newly formed Division of the Aged and Health, and the Social Service Referral Bureaus for the churches. The Child Care Division was enlarged and reorganized, and a separate Department of Case Work was formed to take care of all services to individuals. Assistants were added to the staff as work expanded.

All of these services were brought together under the Division of Co-ordination and Service, which was under the direction of an executive director of the Federation. Meanwhile another new division, Public Relations and Finance, was established to meet the increased demands of budgetary expansion and to provide increased financial services to member agencies, as well as for the enlarged financial and public-relations responsibility, that the Federation increasingly assumed. This division soon became considerably enlarged.

The Federation's budget grew steadily from the beginning, but a marked increase took place after 1930, with the expansion of the program. In fact, the budget increased from \$19,469 in 1930 to \$127,615 in 1942—in other words six times.



Since the inception of the organization in 1922, when the budget was less than five thousand dollars, it had grown twenty-fivefold.<sup>64</sup>

TABLE II

ANNUAL EXPENDITURES OF THE FEDERATION  
OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES<sup>65</sup>

<i>Year</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Expenditures</i>
1922 .....	\$ 4,997	1933 .....	\$ 31,140*
1923 .....	5,014	1934 .....	35,140*
1924 .....	7,760	1935 .....	38,650*
1925 .....	13,168	1936 .....	58,373
1926 .....	17,157	1937 .....	62,267
1927 .....	17,432	1938 .....	82,119
1928 .....	16,124	1939 .....	81,385
1929 .....	17,768	1940 .....	86,535
1930 .....	19,469	1941 .....	95,578
1931 .....	25,664*	1942 .....	127,615
1932 .....	27,085*		

\*Plus \$10,000 annually for the Protestant Foundation project.

*Relation to the federations of churches.*<sup>66</sup> Since the beginning, there had been the recurring problem of the relationship of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies to the federations of churches.<sup>67</sup> It was increasingly felt by F.P.W.A. Board that, if the former's relationship to these church federations could be clarified, Protestants in social work might speak with a more unified voice and might make articulate the sectarian position.

<sup>64</sup>See Table II.

<sup>65</sup>From *Annual Reports of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1922 to 1942). These amounts do not include bank balances or special funds, except as noted.

<sup>66</sup>There were three federations of churches in New York City, divided according to boroughs. The Greater New York Federation of Churches served the Boroughs of Manhattan, Bronx, and Richmond; the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation and the Queens Church Federation served but one borough each, as their names indicate. The major relationships in the study were between the F.P.W.A. and the Greater New York Federation of Churches and the Brooklyn Federation.

<sup>67</sup>For the list of references taken from minutes of board meetings of the F.P.W.A., see Appendix, p. 144.

The Federations of Churches reached into the social welfare field and had often issued statements upon social questions. This had resulted in an overlapping and in confusion in the public mind as to where the real leadership of Protestant social service lay, whether in the Federations of Churches or in the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.<sup>68</sup>

In 1936, the board passed a resolution authorizing the . . . employment of someone for the purpose of integrating various Protestant points of view [in the social-work field] into a unified sentiment.<sup>69</sup>

Subsequently, in December of that year, the writer was employed for this purpose; and a study was made of the existing and possible relationships between the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and the federations of churches.<sup>70</sup>

As a result of the study, a co-operative working agreement between these agencies was established, and some definite organizational changes effected. The church federations agreed to discontinue their Welfare Departments and to turn over the work that these departments had done to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, which, in turn, became the Social Service and Information Referral Bureau for the federations. This Bureau, by opening two divisions—one for each of the federations of churches—assisted Protestant ministers and church social workers in their parish social work as referral centers. They did not, however, provide direct relief. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies was also designated by the church federations as the one organization to represent Protestants in social work before City and State Welfare Departments. The church federations were designated as the agencies to foster education for Protestant social service and social action. Three representatives from each of the three federations were elected to the board of the

---

<sup>68</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (October 28, 1936).

<sup>69</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>70</sup>The period of the study extended from December 1, 1936, to June 30, 1937.

Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies; and so, for the first time, Protestant churches, as such, had representation on the Board. Through interlocking boards, all of the federations were to co-operate in the interests of Protestants in any proposed community fund.

The establishment of the co-operative agreements and the development of Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus, and of interlocking boards, represented real steps toward Protestant unity. For the first time in this area, a pattern of working together had been agreed upon and established between these Federations. It should be pointed out, however, that such changes did not basically re-order or centralize Protestant social work, but that they left undecided two problems of Protestant social work: the relationship of the Federation to major co-ordinating agencies and to non-sectarian family-welfare agencies; and the clarification of the distinctive nature of Protestant social work.

#### Relationship to community agencies

*Relationship to Welfare Council.* The Welfare Council, the central co-ordinating agency of New York City, describes itself as a:

voluntary association of public and private health and welfare organizations in the five boroughs of the City of New York, which aims to secure better factual bases for community planning in public welfare. It aims to secure better team play among the social agencies of the city, to secure better standards of social work, better public understanding of social work, and better support for social work.<sup>71</sup>

This Council, although recognizing sectarian welfare federations, co-ordinates the welfare services of New York City through four entirely functional divisions—namely: family welfare; child welfare; health; recreation, education, and neighborhood activities. In the work of this co-ordinating agency, sectarian welfare federations as such play no direct

---

<sup>71</sup>Barr, Jessica H., editor, *Directory of Social Agencies in New York City* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935), pp. 262-263.

role, inasmuch as these federations approach the community from the viewpoint of special groups and interests, and not according to community-wide needs and services. Yet, insofar as any sectarian federation has a board member or an employed social worker who is participating in community-wide services, these persons<sup>72</sup> may serve on the committees of the Welfare Council.

From time to time, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies had sought to define its relationship to the Welfare Council, seeking to establish its position in the community. On one occasion, a memorandum was prepared that raised two important questions for the consideration of the Welfare Council by the Federation executives:

1. How can sectarian and functional federations of welfare agencies work together in a city? What is their relationship to be?

2. Is it desirable for the Welfare Council to be ultimately a super-co-ordinating agency, dealing with subco-ordinating centers (sectarian welfare federations and other federations) and all of these federations in turn dealing with agencies in their membership?<sup>73</sup>

Further to assist in clarifying the position of sectarian welfare federations in a community co-ordinating plan, a chart was submitted suggesting a scheme for the integration of such federations into the Welfare Council.<sup>74</sup> According to the chart, the two Jewish welfare federations,<sup>75</sup> the two Roman

---

<sup>72</sup>"A qualified agency may become a member of the Welfare Council by appointment of official delegates to the appropriate section or sections." *Two Years of Social Planning, 1937-1939* (New York, Welfare Council of New York City, 1939), p. 20.

Three staff divisional heads of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies were on one or more functional committees of the Welfare Council from 1935 to 1942, not as Protestant representatives, but as social workers in one or more particular fields. The other sectarian welfare federations likewise had staff members on the various committees.

<sup>73</sup>*Statement Made by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies to the Welfare Council* (October, 1936). Memorandum; on file in the F.P.W.A. office in New York City.

<sup>74</sup>See Appendix, Chart 2, p. 154.

<sup>75</sup>Combined in 1939.



Catholic Charities,<sup>76</sup> and the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies—comprising in their combined membership six hundred of the eight hundred agencies in the Welfare Council—were to co-ordinate the sectarian work of the community. In turn, the Welfare Council was then to co-ordinate the work of sectarian welfare federations with that of agencies that were not members of such federations.

The adoption of this plan would have made the Welfare Council an instrument for the integration of the sectarian agencies into a super-co-ordinating agency, and would thus have meant acceptance by the Council of a sectarian pattern as the basis of social work. Such a pattern would change the central co-ordination of social work of the community from the present so-called “functional” to a definitely sectarian basis.

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies justified its sectarian position chiefly on three grounds:

1. There existed in the community Protestant sectarian interests, groups, organizations, and institutions.
2. There were financial contributions from persons and groups that were given according to sectarian lines.
3. As long as there were non-Protestant welfare federations in the community, there was a demand for Protestant welfare federation to assure representation for Protestant agencies on central planning committees in the community.<sup>77</sup>

However, the Federation had some misgivings as to whether the need of any such sectarian approach on behalf of Protestant interests was fully recognized by the community:

We come to the crux [of the problem]. We have felt in the years of our development a reservation on the part of important leaders in social service as to the legitimacy and the wisdom of our existence and our growth. There has been a disposition to insist that Protestantism has no independent entity in the field of organized social work and a tendency to disregard the representative function of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.<sup>78</sup>

<sup>76</sup>The Diocese of Brooklyn and the Archdiocese of New York.

<sup>77</sup>See *Statement Made by the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies to the Welfare Council, op. cit.*, pp. 3-4.

<sup>78</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 4.

It was the representative function of the Federation that had been questioned. The Federation had not been generally considered the representative of Protestant welfare agencies and of Protestants of the entire community in the sense that other sectarian welfare federations had been the representatives of their respective groups. While, in the memorandum, the Federation conceded that its representative nature was different from that of the other sectarian welfare federations, it insisted that it did represent the Protestants of the community insofar as this was possible.<sup>79</sup> The Federation also maintained to the Welfare Council that, since there was a Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies in New York City, this agency ought to be encouraged:

Once such an agency [Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies] springs up there is only one thing to do, and that is to give it direction and guidance. So long as a sufficiently strong demand for it exists, it will be in the picture for good or evil. At the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies we feel we are trying to give guidance and direction to an authentic demand of Protestantism to express itself in the organized social service field.<sup>80</sup>

Reports and interviews revealed that several informal conferences were held as a result of this memorandum, but no formal action was taken by either organization. The Federation continued its sectarian approach and the Welfare Council its functional approach.<sup>81</sup>

*Relationship to Non-sectarian Family Welfare Agencies.*<sup>82</sup> Almost from the beginning, what amounted to a state of tension, existed between the Federation of Protestant Welfare

---

<sup>79</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 6.

<sup>80</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 5. This statement was in the original memorandum, but was omitted in later copies.

<sup>81</sup>As far as could be learned, the two non-Protestant welfare federations had not submitted memoranda on the subject, but had continued to assume their respective places in the community.

<sup>82</sup>When this part of the study was made, the Charity Organization Society and the Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor were separate. Their union into Community Service Society came in April, 1939.

Agencies and the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies. The Federation claimed to represent Protestant welfare groups, but there were Protestants who worked through non-sectarian family-welfare agencies who did not care to be a part of a sectarian group. Likewise, both the Federation and the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies appealed primarily to Protestants of the community for their support. Thus, whereas Jewish and Roman Catholic constituencies were called upon to support definitely sectarian social agencies, the Protestant constituency was being solicited to support both sectarian and non-sectarian service agencies. As long as the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies operated on a low budget, the tension, while present, would not be acute; but should the Federation and the non-sectarian agencies compete for substantial sums of money, there was danger that the tension would increase. This problem was further emphasized when community funds were being distributed among family-welfare agencies. The Jewish Federation and Roman Catholic Charities received the share allotted their respective constituencies, and the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies the share allotted the community as a whole. But since the Federation included no recognized Protestant family-welfare agency in its membership,<sup>83</sup> it received nothing. The fact that Protestant groups were operating family-welfare agencies, however, caused many Protestants to feel that they were not getting their share, and gave rise to considerable agitation to change the situation.<sup>84</sup>

*Relationship to the Greater New York Fund.* When the Greater New York Fund<sup>85</sup> was launched in 1937-1938, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies was uncertain of

---

<sup>83</sup>There are denominational agencies—e.g., Lutheran and Episcopalian.

<sup>84</sup>The Gibson Committee and the Blaine Committee gave amounts as high as two hundred thousand dollars to the Protestant churches in New York City during "depression years." See p. 50.

<sup>85</sup>A community fund from business firms and employee groups for health and welfare agencies of New York City.

its role in representing member agencies before this Fund.<sup>86</sup> But a statement from the Greater New York Fund clearly defined the role of sectarian welfare federations, as well as other co-ordinating agencies in relation to it:

The tentative plan for a Community Fund to aid in the support of voluntary social and health services in New York City, provides that agency members of the United Hospital Fund of New York City, the Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, the Catholic Charities of the Diocese of Brooklyn, the Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies of New York City and the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, shall conduct their relationships with the Central Admission and Distribution Committee through these federations. Agency members of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., the National Federation of Day Nurseries and other co-ordinating and standard-making federations may conduct their relations through their federations or directly as may be agreed upon by these federations and their member agencies. In all cases the programs of agencies and their budgets will be considered as separate units.<sup>87</sup>

A footnote was added to this statement, as follows:

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is dealing with the Greater New York Fund in behalf of its member agencies in accordance with a resolution adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Associate Members of February 14, 1938.<sup>88</sup>

The Greater New York Fund was committed to the distribution of funds on a functional basis and divided welfare federations into two classes: those that had financial responsibility for their members,<sup>89</sup> and those that had co-ordinating and advisory relations with their members. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies was classified by the Fund in this

---

<sup>86</sup>See *Minutes of F.P.W.A. Board Meetings* (1937-1938).

<sup>87</sup>*Statement of Procedure for Agencies Applying for Grant from the Greater New York Fund for the Year 1938* (1938), front page.

<sup>88</sup>*Ibid.* The procedure was printed, whereas the footnote was type-written.

<sup>89</sup>The non-Protestant sectarian welfare federations and the United Hospital Fund.



latter group, because it was not a fiscal federation for member agencies.

More than a year before the Greater New York Fund was launched, the Federation had appointed a special committee on Protestant Policy, composed of representatives from Protestant welfare agencies, Protestant denominational centers, and the three church federations. The majority of the members of this committee were in favor of the Federation's sectarian approach; a minority were against it; a few were indifferent. After much deliberation, the committee issued a statement, endorsed by the Federation's Board of Directors and associate members, containing five major points on Protestant policy with reference to the Greater New York Fund:

1. That the Federation agrees with the plan of the Greater New York Fund to allocate its funds on a strictly functional and not on a sectarian basis.
2. That the Federation will expect to continue to make suggestions as to personnel of the various Boards and Committees set up in connection with the Fund.
3. While the larger number of agencies will undoubtedly wish to interpret their own programs, the Federation will expect to testify as to their social efficiency, if the agencies so desire.
4. That the Federation will act as transmitting agent for applications from its members to the Fund for all organizations desiring such an arrangement. (All agencies with the exception of the Salvation Army, New York Protestant Episcopal City Mission Society, the Church Mission of Help of New York, and the Big Brother Movement, participating in the Fund, have already functioned according to this arrangement.)
5. That the individual checks made payable to the agencies in the membership of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies by the Greater New York Fund be mailed directly to the Federation and re-mailed by that organization to its member agencies with certain exceptions—a list of which will be mailed to the Greater New York Fund. The Federation does not wish to assume any responsibility for transmitting sums of money to its agencies which will involve a bookkeeping transaction. It desires merely to serve as a forwarding agent for checks allocated and made payable directly to its agencies by the Fund. This procedure is in harmony with the urgent request of the impor-

tant agencies represented on our Protestant Policy Committee.<sup>90</sup> These points became the Federation's *modus operandi* in relation to the Fund.

The Greater New York Fund accepted the policy in regard to the transmission of funds of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies because, from the Fund's standpoint, it was entirely within the province of any group of agencies to federate for mutual advantage. However, from the point of view of the Greater New York Fund, this acceptance did not establish a sectarian approach.

Tension arose from another source, however. As *the* representative of Protestants in social welfare, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies believed that at least one board member, identified with its group, should be nominated to the Central Admission and Distribution Committee of the Welfare Council, which was acting as the Greater New York Fund's<sup>91</sup> distributing agent. The principle of representation on a functional basis, both on boards and committees of the Welfare Council and of the Greater New York Fund, was recognized; but it was noted that outstanding persons connected with other sectarian groups were always placed on these committees. The Federation then insisted—and its position was formally placed on record—that a Protestant representative be placed on this central committee. Accordingly, several nominations were made, and a member of the Federation's Board of Directors was chosen by the Welfare Council. Whether he was chosen as a sectarian representative or as a representative of the community, however, may be a moot question.<sup>92</sup> The Greater New York Fund might be com-

---

<sup>90</sup>Statement of Protestant Policy Toward the Greater New York Fund (1936). On file in the F.P.W.A. office in New York City.

<sup>91</sup>For an outline of the interrelationship of the Welfare Council and Greater New York Fund, see *Two Years of Social Planning, 1937-1939, op. cit.*

<sup>92</sup>A list of members of the boards of directors of the Protestant agencies of the Federation and of members of the Federation's staff serving on committees of the Greater New York Fund is given in the 1939 *Annual Report*.

mitted to a functional approach; but it seemed clear that, to some extent, it had been influenced by sectarian interests. Although there had been a difference of opinion in board meetings as to how far the matter should be pressed, the Federation had kept the sectarian social-work issue to the front in New York City.<sup>93</sup>

### The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies (1942)

*Organization.*<sup>94</sup> The Board of the Federation is controlled by thirty-six members, four chosen from member agencies and six from church associates.<sup>95</sup> As has been said, the member agencies and church associates have only advisory power. The Board meets twice a year and has eight standing committees. Direct control of the Federation is vested in the Executive Committee, composed of ten members, which is responsible for the plans, policies, financial investments, and general direction of the Federation. There are two executive directors, each in charge of an organizational division of service and each responsible to the Executive Committee.

*Division of Co-ordination and Service.* The Federation provides consultative and advisory social-work services to member agencies<sup>96</sup> and to the community through five subdivisions: Child Welfare, Aged and Health, Youth, General and Special Services, and the Church Division. In 1942, the Division of Co-ordination and Service had twenty-two employees: two in Child Welfare, two in Aged and Health, three in the Church Division, five in the Case Work Department, one in Information, eight departmental assistants, and the executive director.

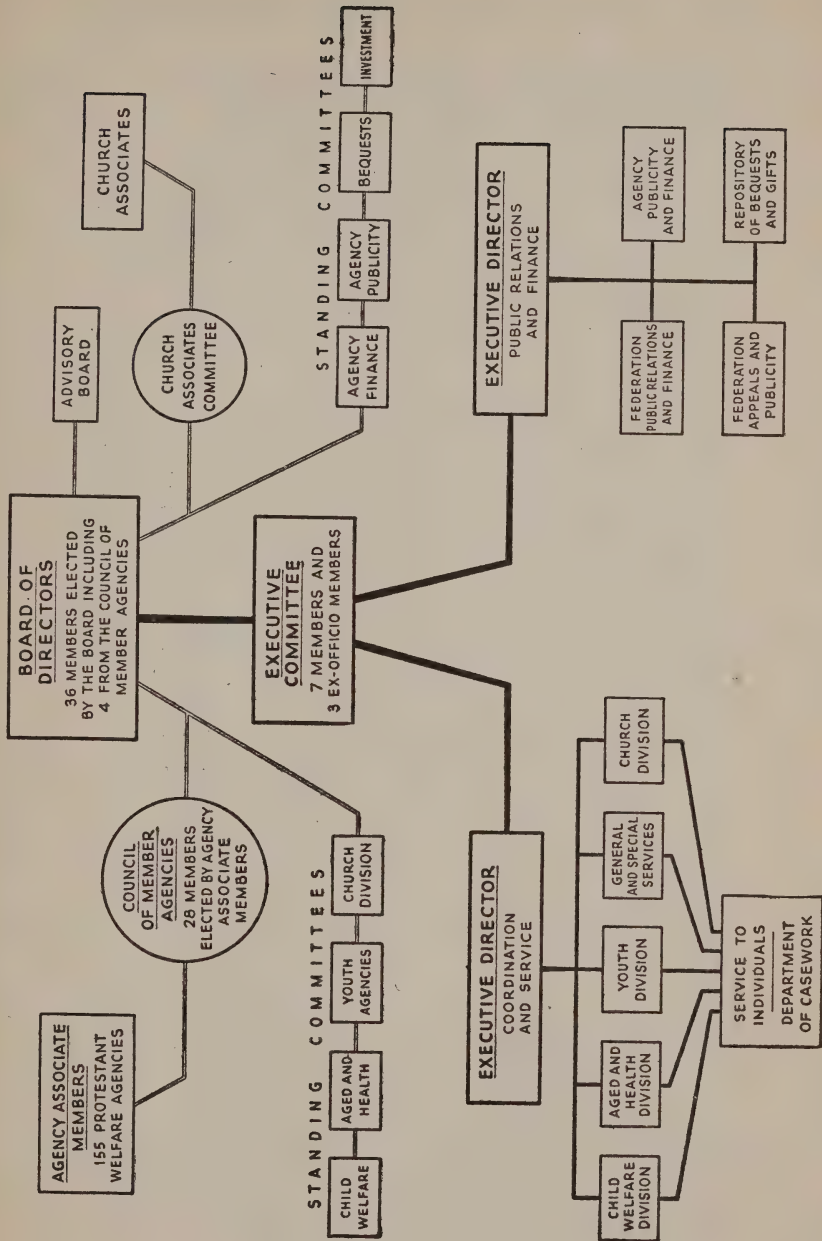
<sup>93</sup>See *Minutes of F.P.W.A. Board Meetings* (March, April, and May, 1938).

<sup>94</sup>See organizational diagram of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Chart 1, on p. 63.

<sup>95</sup>These are not shown in the diagram.

<sup>96</sup>For the list of associate members and divisions of the agencies, see *Annual Reports of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1940 to 1942).

# ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN OF THE FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES





The Child Welfare Division provides consultative and advisory social-work services for seventy-one member agencies in seven areas of the child-care field, through:

1. Visitations to member agencies.
2. Conducting institutes for personnel of member agencies and forums for the members of boards of these agencies.
3. Surveys and projects conducted in relation to various phases of the work of member agencies.

The Division of the Aged and Health likewise provides consultative and advisory social-work services to thirty-three member agencies of homes for the aged and to fourteen member agencies in the health area. Hospital-member agencies also belong to the United Hospital Fund, and therefore have limited relationship with the Federation. In fact, the tie is largely nominal. However, in the health area, the convalescent-care members have had and still do have some definite projects under the direction of the Federation. Consultative and advisory social-work services to homes for the aged in membership are available through:

1. Visitations to the agencies.
2. Institutes and forums.
3. Occasional experimental projects with certain member agencies.<sup>97</sup>
4. Periodic studies of problems within certain of these member agencies.<sup>98</sup>
5. A quarterly *Newsletter* sent to the thirty-three homes for the aged.

There is no one directly in charge of the Youth Service Division, comprising twenty-four agencies of church neighborhood houses, youth-housing agencies, and young people's associations.<sup>99</sup> A survey of some of the member agencies was

<sup>97</sup>See *Annual Reports for the Service of Homes for the Aged* (1937 and 1938).

<sup>98</sup>See *Annual Report for the Service of Homes for the Aged* (1938), *op. cit.*

<sup>99</sup>A person was assigned in October, 1943.

made by the Field Consultant. Workers of the Child Welfare Division have made available consultative services and have set up committees from the member agencies for co-operation among themselves. The members of this division are not tied closely to the Federation. In fact, most of the agencies have only nominal membership with the Federation.

The Information Service answers public inquiries concerning Protestant social-work facilities. The work of this department has steadily increased—1,729 inquiries were handled in 1937, and 3,535 in 1942.

For other member agencies not included in the previous subdivisions, the Federation offers consultative and advisory services. However, most of these agencies have primarily nominal relationship with the Federation.

The Division of Churches, which developed from the Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus, organized in 1938, now provides:

. . . a channel through which Protestant ministers (and church social workers) may become more familiar with, and make wider use of, the social resources of the community; consultation to individual ministers, or groups of ministers on troublesome personal or family problems which confront them in their role of spiritual counsellor of their parishioners; a channel through which gaps in welfare services in the community, recognized by the minister, may be identified and studied against a background of thorough knowledge of all social service resources in the city, available to Protestants. . . . The Church Division also provides service to individuals when this seems desirable. . . . In 1942 this division published the first of a series of pamphlets, entitled *The Minister and the Social Worker*, and mailed this pamphlet to the clergymen of the city.<sup>100</sup>

In a period of four years, this department has grown to the point where, in 1942, 1,508 people were referred for advice and assistance; and yet, in that year, the Department contacted but 249 of New York City's 1,199 Protestant churches.

The Department of Case Work provides direct service to

---

<sup>100</sup>*Annual Report of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1942), p. 27.

individuals who are referred through the five subdivisions of the Division of Co-ordination and Service. In 1938, the head of this Department wrote:

A few years ago we were almost entirely a children's agency. Then we became identified with old people. Now, our intake is like that of a small family agency. The Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus and our agency's activity among the Protestant churches are responsible for this.<sup>101</sup>

This Department primarily refers cases; it gives direct aid only when necessary. The service of the Case Work Department falls largely into four areas: child placement; adult assistance, which is almost exclusively referral; co-operation with cases referred by churches; and direct work with member agencies. The last-mentioned service includes projects and surveys on social-work problems, and through institutes and forums. The separate Case Work Department started in 1928 with 375 cases, although work had been done in this area from the beginning, and the Department handled 2,276<sup>102</sup> in 1942. Until 1932, it handled only children whose placement in homes and institutions<sup>103</sup> and summer camps<sup>104</sup> was and still is a major concern, covering about two thirds of the total number of cases.<sup>105</sup>

The Division of Co-ordination and Service also represents on interfaith committees, before City and State Welfare Departments, those child-care agencies that receive public money. This function is still one of the most important services of the Federation, binding the member agencies concerned to it; for here the legal basis of sectarian social work finds its federated expression.

*Division of Public Relations and Finance.* The program of the Division of Public Relations and Finance covers four func-

<sup>101</sup>*Annual Report of the Case Work Division of the F.P.W.A.* (1938).

<sup>102</sup>*Annual Reports of the Case Work Division of the F.P.W.A.* (1928 to 1942).

<sup>103</sup>See Appendix, Table X, p. 152.

<sup>104</sup>See Appendix, Table XI, p. 153.

<sup>105</sup>See *Statement of the F.P.W.A.* (1943), p. 17.

tions: public relations and finance for the Federation itself; appeals and publicity for the Federation; publicity and finance for member agencies; and the solicitation of bequests and gifts for both Federation and Protestant agencies. It provides the machinery for interpreting the Federation to the community and for raising funds for its support, insofar as possible assisting the member agencies along these same lines. The broad program of this second administrative unit is in the hands of ten employees.

In its function as interpretative agent, this Division seeks to clarify, not only the relation of the Federation to the community and to member agencies, but also the Federation's own understanding of the nature and function of the organization. Just as the Roman Catholic Charities has an ecclesiastical faith and the Jewish Federation a religious and cultural bond to interpret, so the Protestant Federation has to provide its *raison d'être*. Thus it is the responsibility of this Division to sharpen and clarify the Protestant position in social work.

In its function as financial agent, the work of the Division centers in raising the current budget and building up capital funds for the Federation. Since the Protestant Federation is not primarily a fiscal agency, it assists member agencies, insofar as these desire, in conducting their own individual financial appeals and solving their own budgetary problems. It also stimulates bequests for the Protestant field.

The program of public relations and finance<sup>106</sup> for the Federation itself includes newspaper releases, magazine articles, and a church speaking program. In 1942, 174 stories were placed in newspapers and magazines, totaling 1,613 inches, which represented a 250 per cent increase over the previous year. In 1942, as a special feature, there was a radio program of ten half-hour units and many spot announcements. Two annual theater benefits provided the basis for much of the increased publicity space.

Nearly 70 per cent of the annual budget of the Federation

---

<sup>106</sup>Annual Report of the Division of Public Relations and Finance of the F.P.W.A. (1942).



is raised through its appeals and publicity program—about 1 per cent comes from member-agency dues, 4 per cent from endowment, 10 per cent from theater benefits, and over 15 per cent from the Greater New York Fund.<sup>107</sup> No annual financial campaign is conducted by the Federation, but a continuous solicitation is made through mail and personal contacts. The mail campaign is divided into seasonal and personally sponsored appeals, and the co-operation of prominent Protestants is enlisted as sponsors of letters. In 1942, two hundred and twenty thousand letters were sent to prospective contributors. In this same year, the number of contributors was seventy-five hundred, with an average contribution of \$15.75. The total number of contributors for that year represented an increase of about 30 per cent since 1940;<sup>108</sup> the average contribution remained about the same. The Federation also publishes an annual report, of which four to five thousand copies are printed and sent to contributors.

In its program for member-agency publicity and finance, the Federation provides consultative services in the fields of general publicity and finance, and, in addition, special services relative to the Greater New York Fund and the transmittal of allotments from it. During 1942, forty member agencies sought the advice of the Division of Public Relations and Finance<sup>109</sup> on general matters, while twenty-one agencies asked for advice<sup>110</sup> concerning the Greater New York Fund. This subdivision on publicity and finance is also an employment center for money raising and publicity personnel for member agencies. During 1942, of the twenty-two individuals

<sup>107</sup>These estimates were made on the basis of 1940 to 1942 reports and from the *Statement of the F.P.W.A., op. cit.* Gifts from foundations vary according to specific projects, but in recent years they have amounted to more than 10 per cent of the annual budget.

<sup>108</sup>*Annual Report of the Division of Public Relations and Finance of the F.P.W.A.* (1942).

<sup>109</sup>Three agencies were contacted sixteen times, one agency fifteen times, and one agency twelve times; but the majority were contacted at least twice. *Ibid.*

<sup>110</sup>Through telephone calls, correspondence, or personal conference.

who applied, two were placed on the staffs of member agencies, while others were placed in community agencies.

The Federation through the Division of Public Relations and Finance also issues a quarterly *Newsletter* to homes for the aged;<sup>111</sup> a quarterly bulletin for the Division of the Churches, called *The Minister and the Social Worker*;<sup>112</sup> and occasionally publicity on special projects. In 1942, the Division prepared newspaper articles, a bulletin, and other material for a Foster Home Campaign, sponsored jointly by the three sectarian welfare federations under the State Charities Aid Association. Another special project was the publication in 1942, in co-operation with the Federation of Churches, of the *Protestant Church and Welfare Directory*. Announcements are also placed in church bulletins and denominational magazines to interpret Protestant welfare agencies to the churches.

The work that was launched by the Protestant Foundation<sup>113</sup>—namely, to serve as a repository for funds on behalf of member agencies—is carried on by this Division, which is ever seeking bequests and gifts. Income on the Herbert Moore Baldwin Fund, the Youth's Foundation, and special funds received for distribution are distributed by the Board, upon recommendation of the Council of Member Agencies or Administrative Council in three ways:

1. Direct grants are made to certain member agencies from the Baldwin Fund.
2. Scholarships are granted to young people.
3. Funds are given for special experimental projects.

In the eleven years since the Baldwin Fund became available (1932 to 1942), \$141,026 has been distributed, an annual average of \$12,828 to an annual average of about sixty institutions.<sup>114</sup> Over a twelve-year period (1930 to 1942),

<sup>111</sup>See p. 64.

<sup>112</sup>See p. 65.

<sup>113</sup>See pp. 46-49.

<sup>114</sup>For the number and amounts of grants from the Baldwin Fund, see Appendix, Table XII, p. 153.

scholarships to young people have numbered a hundred and four and have amounted to \$11,961, an average of a little over a hundred dollars per person per year.<sup>115</sup> Financial grants for experimental projects have averaged over a thousand dollars each year since the inception of these funds. In 1942, total grants to member agencies amounted to approximately twenty-five thousand dollars, or about 20 per cent of the Federation's total budget.

It might be stated that the total budgets of member agencies amounted, in 1942, to more than twenty million dollars, of which four million dollars was raised in current contributions, so that grants by the Federation constituted about 0.6 per cent of the total.<sup>116</sup> This limited financial relationship to member agencies and the obvious lack of broad planning stand in contrast to the centralized control and inclusive strategy found in the other two sectarian welfare federations.

### Summary

The history of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies shows many and far-reaching accomplishments, but it also reveals certain fundamental problems that must be solved before Protestant welfare federation can fulfill its real function in New York City. Since 1922, the Federation has grown continuously: in member agencies, from twenty-two to one hundred and fifty-seven; in areas of service, from one to eight; in divisions of service, from one to eight; in size of staff, from one to thirty-two; in annual budget, from less than five thousand to more than a hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars; in financial assets from nothing to \$647,000. When the Federation was organized, it handled only a few direct service cases, all in the field of child placement; in 1942, it was handling over two thousand cases, including service to youth and adults as well as to children.

Enlargement of staff and budget has reflected an exten-

<sup>115</sup>For the number and amount of scholarships from the Youth Foundation, see Appendix, Table XIII, p. 153.

<sup>116</sup>For a comparison with 1939, see footnote on p. 40.

sion in areas of service. Originally, the Federation was concerned primarily with those agencies that were receiving public money for the care of children. Later, it came to be recognized by the community as the representative of Protestant child-care agencies before the City and State Welfare Departments, and was thus in a position to take fuller advantage of the opportunities offered by the laws of the State of New York relating to sectarian social work. Homes for the aged were then brought into membership, and co-ordinating services for these established. The Federation became the recognized information center in the matter of available Protestant welfare facilities. Through certain bequests and gifts, it became a financial contributor to member agencies. Through consultative services relative to co-ordination and to standards of social work, money raising, and welfare-agency publicity, it became—although only to a limited degree—the co-ordinating center for many Protestant agencies in New York City.

In a word, this organization developed from a Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. Despite this substantial progress however, the Federation faced in 1942<sup>117</sup> two definite problems—one relative to function, the other relative to structural organization.

Problems of function were derived from the fundamental nature of Protestantism. From the time of Martin Luther, Protestantism had asserted the sacredness of the individual's belief; and consequently Protestant federations, like Protestant institutions, had to build upon voluntary co-operation. Member agencies of a Protestant federation are independent in a way different from member agencies of other sectarian federations. In the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, this independence of member agencies brought tensions relating to the Federation's function. In regard to its services, the Federation has been pulled in opposing directions—on one hand, in the interest of centralization, it sought to build up an organization; on the other, it sought to safeguard and re-

---

<sup>117</sup>When this study closed.



spect the autonomy of member agencies. The proper balance between these tendencies was difficult to maintain.

The will, on the part of Protestant agencies, to assert individual independence weakened the Federation, in that many members have retained loose and limited ties. When, in the development of the Federation, there was agitation for centralized financial co-ordination, the looseness of the bonds of membership limited such possible development. Likewise, when community welfare funds<sup>118</sup> were distributed to other sectarian welfare federations, there was a feeling on the part of the Federation and some of its members that Protestants were not getting their share of the allotments, but the voluntary membership ties did not enable a strong Protestant position to express itself readily. Also, when the Federation, by action of the Board, defined a Protestant agency and excluded non-sectarian agencies from membership,<sup>119</sup> it was found that a Protestant federation enjoyed a special relationship with non-sectarian agencies that other sectarian welfare agencies did not have. Although the Federation defined a Protestant agency, it did not work out a clear-cut relationship with non-sectarian groups. In each of these situations, there resulted uncertainty of function on the part of the Federation.

In regard to organizational structure, in the interests of efficiency and of strengthening the Federation financially, the Board gave up the simple democratic organization of the original Federation—a form of organization that is definitely in keeping with traditional Protestant belief—and established in its place an organization with a self-perpetuating board, composed of leading Protestants who were not direct representatives of those agencies that the Federation was serving. The member agencies, who in reality were associate members, and the Protestant churches, who were related through the Federations of Churches, were not in a position to participate

---

<sup>118</sup>Gibson and Blaine Committees and the Greater New York Fund.

<sup>119</sup>Non-sectarian agencies might come in if they desired, but, by definition, they would then be Protestant agencies.

wholeheartedly in the work of a co-ordinating agency managed by a closed board.

Thus it remains for the Federation to reconcile its conflicts, to define its true function, and to develop a structural organization that truly expresses its distinctive Protestant nature.

## CHAPTER III

# Function, Structure, and Relationships of the Federation, as Reflected in Opinions

### Function

*Position Taken in the "Annual Reports of the F.P.W.A."*  
The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, constitutionally a sectarian agency, was presumed to be the instrument through which the staff and board jointly expressed their convictions as to the meaning of co-ordination among Protestant welfare agencies in New York City. The resulting programs of active service for which the staff and board were responsible, but which primarily the staff carried out, were given in the *Annual Reports*; but the opinions and convictions of the board had to be secured through personal interviews.

Although, as has been shown, the purpose of the Federation changed, the *Annual Reports* published after 1931 set forth six definite functions<sup>1</sup> of Protestant welfare federation. Four of these related definitely to co-ordination of services:

1. It is a central organization for agencies designated Protestant. It is a clearinghouse on common problems.
2. It is a central agency that relates the welfare agencies in the Protestant field to City and State Departments of Public Welfare.
3. It is a central Bureau of Information on sources of help for Protestants, available through City and State Departments, and through private organizations and institutions.
4. It is the Social Service Referral Bureau of Protestant Church Federations.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>See *Annual Reports of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1936 to 1942). The stated purposes of the Federation have been given in the *Annual Reports* since 1937.

<sup>2</sup>In the *Annual Report* for 1936, under the Central Bureau heading, there was also added the statement that the "Federation not only referred Protestants to already existing sources of help, but gave direct services in hundred of cases." *Op. cit.*, p. 2.

In the *Annual Report* of 1942, a fifth, a fiscal function in behalf of member agencies, was reported:

5. The Federation is a repository for moneys entrusted to it, through bequests or gifts, for distribution, either as to income or principal, among Protestant agencies.

Through all of these functions the Federation sought to fulfil a sixth and comparative function.

6. It is a federation of the Protestant groups that approximated the federations among the Jewish and Roman Catholic groups.

These six functions were reported as the *modus operandi* of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, an organization controlled, as has been said, by a self-perpetuating board of thirty-six leading Protestants.

In order to study the Federation from the point of view of the Board, interviews were held with fourteen selected board members who were leaders in the work.<sup>3</sup> To determine its place with relation to the Welfare Council and the Greater New York Fund, the two general co-ordinating agencies of New York City, interviews were held with eight persons closely associated with the work of these agencies.

*Positions Taken by Board Members.* All board members who were interviewed agreed that there was need for a Protestant co-ordinating agency, although these leaders did not consider Protestant social work to be "solely for Protestants." Likewise, all of the selected board members accepted five of the functions listed in the *Annual Reports*; although, on the whole, they interpreted these in less general and more specific terms, and they did not agree as to the sixth function. They considered the Federation primarily a central co-ordinating agency for those Protestant welfare agencies that desired its services, and less as a center for "all Protestant agencies." Likewise, they considered the Federation as representing child-care agen-

---

<sup>3</sup>The schedule for the interview is given in the Appendix, pp. 140-142. Staff members chose these particular board members on the basis of their intimate knowledge of and participation in the Federation.



cies before City and State Welfare Departments, rather than as representing all Protestants.

In answer to the question, "In what functions of social welfare can Protestants most readily federate?" all agreed on the child-care field. It was stated that, since the law supported divisions in this field, Protestants would naturally federate.<sup>4</sup> All agreed that the field of child-care represented a sound basis for Protestant welfare federation. One member said:

It seems natural for a Protestant welfare federation to begin in the child-care field, because here religion and social work meet.<sup>5</sup>

Another respondent thought it important for a different reason:

Non-sectarian institutions would not—in fact, they could not—provide religious training. Hence the child-care field provides a sound basis for a Protestant welfare federation.<sup>6</sup>

The co-ordination of the work of homes for the aged was regarded as the next most logical justification for the Federation. As one member stated:

Homes for the aged are like birds of a feather flocking together. Protestant homes for the aged can better operate together.<sup>7</sup>

Another emphasized the importance of religion in the homes for the aged, saying that these institutions:

. . . ought to be under religious auspices because old folks want to be near the church. The old folks want a "personalness" about homes that only religion can give. There is need for a federation of these Protestant homes for the aged because of common problems.<sup>8</sup>

Some of those interviewed hesitated to include hospitals in a Protestant welfare federation because they believed that hospitals had more in common with members of the United Hospital Fund than with members of a sectarian welfare federation. All agreed, however, that hospitals should be non-

<sup>4</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>5</sup>Interview with S. T.

<sup>6</sup>Interview with S. D.

<sup>7</sup>Interview with V. T.

<sup>8</sup>Interview with S. D.

sectarian as far as service to the community was concerned; but several stated that the denominational hospitals had a particular service to render—namely, that of supplying the church with a definite social-work outlet and of keeping religion in social work. The general opinion was that, since various groups of Protestants supported homes for the aged and hospitals, there

. . . ought to be a federation of Protestant welfare agencies to assist in solving common problems, raising standards, and calling attention of the Protestants in the community to agency needs.<sup>9</sup>

In regard to the sixth function of the Federation—namely, its approximation to the Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations—the majority of the board members interviewed took exception to the *Annual Reports*. One said:

No two people would agree as to what was meant by a statement that a Protestant federation of welfare agencies would approximate other sectarian federations.<sup>10</sup>

This board member stated that the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies could not approximate the other sectarian federations, and that it was unethical to use such a slogan for publicity purposes:

It implies direct services to Protestant clients. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies does not have these direct services.<sup>11</sup>

Two more respondents also stated that the claim of approximation was unethical. They phrased their opinions in this way:

To use the term “approximate” implies direct services. Yet the term is the best available. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies ought to state constantly what it is doing and what it is not doing, in order that the public will know what the term “approximate” means as applied to a Protestant federation.<sup>12</sup>

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies never can approximate the other sectarian welfare federations in the strict

<sup>9</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>10</sup>Interview with V. T.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>12</sup>Interview with O. S.

sense of the term, but it can work out its own position *sui generis*. The term "approximate" is elastic, and all Protestants ought to know this.<sup>13</sup>

Two persons took the opposing position that, as long as the statement concerning approximation was a profitable publicity slogan and secured financial results, it ought to be used.

The whole subject of approximation leads directly to that of distinctiveness. Most board members were convinced that there was something distinctive about the Federation, but found this quality difficult to define. As one said:

I don't know what it is, but it is different from the Jewish and from the Roman Catholic federations.<sup>14</sup>

Another indicated:

There is little that holds the Protestant group together in social welfare. It may be held together just because there are Jewish and Roman Catholic federations, yet there is also a positive reason. What it is, is not clear. To some, it comes as service on behalf of the needy; to some, as a religious philosophy; to some, as a creed. All of these together make the distinctive Protestant position in social welfare.<sup>15</sup>

One respondent thought:

It [the Protestant position] has a much harder job establishing itself than do the others. The Protestant position allows complete freedom to individuals, and at the same time it seeks to get all to act together.<sup>16</sup>

The majority defined "Protestant distinctiveness" by stating that the Protestant position was not like the Jewish or Roman Catholic position. This, of course, failed to justify Protestant welfare federation on anything but negative grounds. One respondent, however, stated the position more clearly:

Protestant distinctiveness is an ethical sensitivity to all human need, supported by an individual religious belief. Protestants do not think in terms of federation, but in terms of service.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>13</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>14</sup>Interview with N. C.

<sup>15</sup>Interview with S. T.

<sup>16</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>17</sup>Interview with V. T.

The same emphasis was made by another respondent:

Protestants ought to be sensitive to all community needs, not just to the needs of Protestants. This is their contribution, distinct from that of other sectarian federations.<sup>18</sup>

In order to determine not only the distinctive nature of Protestant welfare federation but also the practical means of expressing this distinctive quality through service, selected members were asked: "In what way or ways can the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies approximate the Jewish and Roman Catholic federations?" The greater number expressed the opinion that the Protestant Federation might become a strong fiscal agency for member agencies. It was thought by some that, only as the Protestant Federation was strong financially, could it raise the standards of its member agencies, and thus be said to approximate the other sectarian federations. As one respondent stated:

The hand that signs the check is the hand that rules. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies must be strong financially.<sup>19</sup>

However, as stated above, except in regard to the fiscal function the term "approximate," when used in regard to the Federation, seemed neither clear nor satisfactory to the majority of board members interviewed.

Ten of the fourteen board members said that, because there were Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations, there should be a Protestant welfare federation. "Protestants are forced to have a federation," said one. "I see no other way."<sup>20</sup> According to another:

Protestants ought not to federate because the other sectarian groups have federated, but Protestants ought to federate out of their own need.<sup>21</sup>

And he believed there was a need.

---

<sup>18</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>19</sup>Interview with N. C.

<sup>20</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>21</sup>Interview with K. T.



One respondent stated, in answer to the question whether Protestants ought to federate because Jews and Roman Catholics had done so:

Some Protestants think they should. . . . Protestantism does not have the inherent qualities for federation in any field that the other sectarian federations do, and any attempt on the part of a group of Protestants to parallel the other sectarian federations is primarily vanity and can never be successful.<sup>22</sup>

None of the others interviewed took this strongly negative position, although one admitted that:

. . . perhaps there would be no Protestant federation if there had not been a Jewish or a Roman Catholic federation.<sup>23</sup>

Another made this a matter of Protestant desire, saying that, if a large enough group of Protestants felt that they should organize, then they should, and adding that personally he felt they should.

Opinions varied all the way from the belief that Protestants would always engage in social work and would thus find need for a welfare federation along with non-sectarian welfare agencies to the conviction that "an exclusive Protestant welfare federation was the only satisfactory way of meeting the situation." The majority opinion, however, seemed to be that the presence of the other sectarian welfare federations proved to be a strong stimulus to the formation and continuation of the Federation, although this was not the primary basis for its existence. In the opinion of selected board members, the organization had valid grounds for federation in certain fields, but not for such an all-inclusive federation as those of the other sectarian groups. None interviewed stated that he thought there ought to be a Protestant family-welfare agency, although the family-welfare agencies had an important place in the Jewish and Roman Catholic federations.

In regard to immediate future steps that these selected board members thought the Federation ought to take, some

---

<sup>22</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>23</sup>Interview with V. T.

respondents were willing to leave such action "to those in charge" (referring to the staff). One thought the Federation had enlarged its program sufficiently and should continue its present one. He said:

The Federation should be a co-ordinating agency within these areas [child-care and homes for the aged] to raise standards, serve the agencies, represent these before City and State Departments. This would be a good enough piece of community work. This is enough.<sup>24</sup>

Six respondents emphasized the need for closer co-operation with Protestant churches and Protestant ministers, stressing the point that the churches were the primary organizations of Protestantism. Those who believed in approximation naturally wanted the Federation to become a strong fiscal agency like the Jewish welfare federation, and wanted it to provide more services for Protestants.

Only two persons expressed the opinion that a Federation might well consider what the Protestant faith meant with respect to federation among Protestant welfare agencies. One of these said:

Roman Catholics see the sectarian issue. I fear Protestants do not. Perhaps this is one reason why limited work is being done. A Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies ought to know what the term "Protestant" means.<sup>25</sup>

The second stated:

Protestants can only come together in social work on a common religious faith.<sup>26</sup>

These two board members were of the opinion that the next step for the Federation was to clarify the meaning of the term "Protestant."

Finally, the opinion was expressed that the Federation, representing all Protestant welfare agencies, might join with other Protestant forces in order to co-operate in a total Protestant movement in the city.

<sup>24</sup>Interview with K. C.

<sup>25</sup>Interview with V. T.

<sup>26</sup>Interview with S. T.

### Structure

In interviews with these same board members, a question as to what form of organization would be most effective in securing Protestant representation in the welfare field revealed structural problems growing out of the fundamental nature of Protestantism and reflected a dissatisfaction with the present form of organization. The majority of the board members were of the opinion that a democratic organization was necessary. As one of them stated:

It must be representative of all groups, so far as possible. The essence of a Protestant organization is its potential democracy.<sup>27</sup>

Another respondent, agreeing with the necessity of a democratic setup said:

A closed board has served its day, even in business. It has inherent weaknesses. Any Protestant board should be as representative as possible. Of course, if there is too much representation it will not function.<sup>28</sup>

This opinion was further expressed by another who stated:

Protestant federation demands a democratic organization. The board need not be the chosen representatives of the Protestant churches only, but these representatives ought to be from the Protestant churches. A Protestant federation ought to be as representative as possible.<sup>29</sup>

One respondent, who had been on the board a number of years and was exceedingly active, summarized the position of a number of respondents. He said:

One group cannot represent Protestants in social welfare. One group can only represent those agencies which are within the field and which delegate authority. Strictly speaking, Protestants cannot be represented, save in a democratic way. The present board is not representative. It is centralized and controlled for services. The agencies seem to want this. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies cannot represent Protestants without the churches. The churches are really the Protestants. The Federa-

<sup>27</sup>Interview with K. T.

<sup>28</sup>Interview with K. C.

<sup>29</sup>Interview with G. S.

tion of Protestant Welfare Agencies needs to be more democratic. Member agencies may want to delegate responsibility. This seems to be the trend. But the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is pulled in two ways: on the one hand to be democratic and secure representation, and on the other hand to be centralized in order to get services performed. Since the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies has a trust fund, this could not easily be turned over to the member agencies. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies needs to work for a balance.<sup>30</sup>

Although the majority of respondents emphasized the need for a democratic organization, there were two who defended the closed corporation in the interest of efficiency. One said that:

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is like a business organization. A few executives ought to run it in order to get the business accomplished. Of course, an organization does not want to get out of touch with its agencies, but the main purposes are to represent Protestants and to offer services.<sup>31</sup>

Another board member thought the closed corporation was necessary, because

... Protestants in social welfare are inclined to discuss their divisions, and hence their weaknesses. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies needs a small board of leading men to get results.<sup>32</sup>

All of those who were interviewed agreed that the Federation did achieve its real purpose, which was not to approximate other agencies but to express its own character.

### Relationships

The selected members of the Board who were interviewed were of the opinion that the Federation had attempted to be a genuine Protestant federation—sometimes with beneficial results, and sometimes with resulting problems and tensions—in relation to community agencies.

*With the Federations of Churches.* In reply to a question

<sup>30</sup>Interview with I. G.

<sup>31</sup>Interview with N. C.

<sup>32</sup>Interview with G. S.



concerning the recently established co-operative agreement between the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and the church federations, all found this to be a step in the right direction. Likewise, all expressed themselves in favor of the establishment of the Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus, both of which, they felt, would enable ministers to gain assistance in social work and would make possible more contacts for the Federation, thereby enabling it to become more representative of the Protestants in the community. The establishment of these Bureaus would also place the center of Protestant social work in the churches, where it belonged, and might thus eventually help to define Protestant social work more clearly. However, one respondent, although agreeing in general with this point of view, stated that ministers and social work "just don't mix." He explained:

. . . Ministers do not seem to get it [social work]. Nor am I sure that social workers get religion. If a Social Service Bureau helps ministers, I am in favor of it.<sup>33</sup>

*With the Welfare Council of New York City.* As has been stated, the Welfare Council is the major co-ordinating agency of New York City; and supposedly it operates on a purely functional rather than sectarian basis—the former tending to rule out, or at least to minimize, the latter. Likewise, it will be recalled the Federation once submitted a memorandum to the Welfare Council seeking a clarification of the relationship between a sectarian and functional approach, and suggesting that the Welfare Council become a super-co-ordinating agency for the sectarian welfare federations. This memorandum reflected clearly the position of the Federation in relation to the Council. In order to secure opinions relative to the place of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies in the present co-ordination program of the city, interviews were held with three executives associated with the Welfare Council.

One executive expressed his opinion of the problem of relationship by pointing out the ideal of co-ordination for which

---

<sup>33</sup>Interview with K. C.

the Welfare Council was striving and also the dangers it was seeking to avoid:

Ideally, there should be no sectarian agencies. These run counter to a functional approach upon which the co-ordinating plan in New York City rests.<sup>34</sup>

He also gave his reasons for the defense of this position:

Sectarian groups erect barriers in the community. They segregate interests. They are too introspective. They make for a balance of power.

In admitting these evils of sectarian co-ordination, however, this respondent did not advocate its abolishment. He went on to say:

But they are here. We might as well recognize them in some form. We are aware of their weaknesses, and therefore want the present [functional] co-ordinating plan.

Another executive, agreeing with the above statement concerning the ideal of the Welfare Council, was likewise impressed with the strength of the sectarian groups. He expressed his opinion thus:

Sectarian agencies will be here long after the organizations, which we and our children think are permanent, are gone. Let us be realistic. With all of the weaknesses of sectarian groups, there is something sectarian in much social work—at least, when religion is a factor. . . . Religion gets close to the ultimate values which people will choose. All co-ordinating agencies have to take these sectarian groups into account somehow.<sup>35</sup>

In fact, all interviewed conceded a place for sectarian groups, but none answered the question as to how these would be co-ordinated in a city-wide scheme.

It was admitted that the Protestants, Jews, and Roman Catholics co-ordinated services in the child-care field, although there were non-sectarian groups that were also working in that area:

In the area of child-care institutions, the Federation of Prot-

<sup>34</sup>Interview with M. N.

<sup>35</sup>Interview with D. N.

stant Welfare Agencies is recognized [along with other sectarian federations].<sup>36</sup>

This was an admission of the need for some sectarian co-ordination. However, this executive pointed out a limitation, by adding:

But in the areas of youth work, the aged, hospitals, recreation, family welfare, and others, it [the Federation] is not [recognized].<sup>37</sup>

This respondent gave as the reason the fact that Protestants were not federated in these areas. But he went on to express the opinion that, although the other sectarian groups were federated, the Welfare Council sought to co-ordinate these fields functionally, since they could not be divided on a sectarian basis.

It was noted that all sectarian groups were represented on the Board of the Welfare Council, but it was pointed out (by the executives) that representation was on a functional, not sectarian, basis. Even these executives, however, said it was difficult to draw the line of demarcation. Likewise, it was pointed out that the moment committees were balanced and sectarian interests placed against one another, the present functional system would be abandoned. This change they evidently did not plan to make unless compelled to do so.

One of the executives called attention to a fact that has been mentioned—namely, that the present Federation was not organized to represent the Protestants of the community. This person, having in mind the general nature of Protestantism and also the particular organizational structure of the Federation, said:

Protestants face a more difficult problem in representation than the other sectarian groups. There are many advantages to a closed board [referring to the Federation], if such a board will reveal wisdom and seek after democratic representation. After all, there are many different types of Protestants; and therefore, Protestants cannot have strong representation until they have as

---

<sup>36</sup>Interview with M. N.

<sup>37</sup>*Ibid.*

many groups within their organization as is expedient. Only as they are democratically organized can they become a force, can they avoid the dangers of narrow sectarianism, can they truly represent Protestants.<sup>38</sup>

None of those interviewed expressed the opinion that Protestants ought to organize for sectarian interests on the Welfare Council, because, as one remarked:

This would change the entire picture, and would not be for the best interests for the co-ordination of social work or for Protestant groups.<sup>39</sup>

All of those interviewed felt that there were some functions that the Federation was not now performing that it might well do. One executive gave these suggestions:

The Welfare Council seeks to encourage experimentation on specific problems by the Federation. . . . The Federation needs frequently to take its bearings. It needs to keep in touch with non-sectarian groups. It needs to rouse the Protestant constituency and secure pressure for definite causes, and to work out an independent methodology in co-operation with community groups. After all, this sectarian problem in social welfare will be here a long time. Protestants need not wait. Why not start and be on their way?<sup>40</sup>

Thus, on the whole, the executives of the Welfare Council recognized the validity of the sectarian approach but thought a so-called "functional approach" preferable for city-wide co-ordination. They also expressed the opinion that the Federation had not developed all of its distinctive positions, nor assumed the role that it might play in the social work of the community. It might be added that, although the opinion of leaders of the Welfare Council rightly called attention to the weaknesses of sectarian groups, nevertheless, by contrasting so sharply the functional and sectarian positions and, by cautioning Protestant groups against being narrowly sectarian (a position they did not take with regard to the other sectarian

---

<sup>38</sup>Interview with C. E.

<sup>39</sup>Interview with M. N.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*



groups), they were not defining realistically the term "functional" and were not attacking all the sectarian evils.

*With the Greater New York Fund.* A statement of Protestant policy with regard to the Greater New York Fund (New York City's only community fund), like the memorandum on the Welfare Council, makes clear the Federation's position. It should be recalled that this statement advocated that the Federation receive application for funds from member agencies, witness as to their standards of work, act as a transmittal agency for allotments, and make nominations for various committees of the Fund. To determine the opinions of social-work leaders concerning the sectarian position of the Federation before this Fund, interviews were held with five of its leaders. All were in agreement that, if the Federation wanted to represent its member agencies on behalf of the Fund, this was all right. One leader, however, thought the request of the Federation to act as a transmitting agent in behalf of member agencies "was an empty gesture." In his opinion:

. . . The only important thing is, how are the seven million people of New York City to be taken care of?<sup>41</sup>

The crux of the issue with regard to the relationship of the Federation and the Fund concerned the integration of sectarian claims into a so-called "functional plan." All five leaders were against a sectarian basis of distributing community funds:

If what happened in ....., where one sectarian group asked for a blanket amount, happened here, it would be time for Protestants to be vociferous.<sup>42</sup>

Another leader considered the functional position to be primary and held the Protestants responsible for upholding this position:

If the time ever comes when the Fund is distributed on a sectarian basis, the Fund will be ruined. This issue is paramount. The Fund is to block the evils of sectarianism. This is a com-

<sup>41</sup>Interview with S. E.

<sup>42</sup>Interview with M. N.

munity angle which is important. Perhaps it is the Protestant viewpoint.<sup>43</sup>

It will be recalled that the tension growing out of the sectarian and non-sectarian approaches showed itself in the formation of committees of the Fund. Should sectarian groups, as such, have representation? The opinions of those interviewed on this question seemed to be determined to a large degree by whether or not they believed that sectarian groups actually were represented. One leader answered the question by asking a question:

Why should they [Protestants] be represented if no sectarian groups are represented?<sup>44</sup>

However, this leader did not state whether or not any sectarian groups were represented. Perhaps it would have been exceedingly difficult to determine the extent of sectarian representation.

Another leader put the question of representation on an achievement basis:

They [Protestants] should be represented, but only on the basis of achievement in the community. If they achieve leadership they'll be represented, however, not because they represent a group—an interest—but because they have arrived.<sup>45</sup>

This reply, of course, was in favor of the definitely functional approach. Another leader stated the position more bluntly:

If the Protestants were convinced that they were needed to be represented—and they had a case—they should have said: "Either give us representation, or we'll work against the Fund." This is the way to get representation. However, in the present situation such action would not be warranted.<sup>46</sup>

Whether the Federation was justified in insisting on Protestant representation seemed to be dependent upon three factors: the extent to which the Fund was influenced by these

---

<sup>43</sup>Interview with C. C.

<sup>44</sup>Interview with S. E.

<sup>45</sup>Interview with G. M.

<sup>46</sup>Interview with D. X.

sectarian groups; the degree to which the Federation had achieved a place to warrant its claim to representation; and the extent to which the Federation was organized to implement the Protestant positions of the community.

No leader who was interviewed would say whether sectarian groups, as such, were represented on the Fund. As regards the achieved place of the Federation in the community, one leader stated:

If the Federation went out of existence today,—the social work scene in New York City would not be changed much. Personally, I think Protestants ought to change the social work scene.<sup>47</sup>

All interviewed were agreed that the setup of the Federation needed a more democratic form in order to make articulate a Protestant position.

*With Non-sectarian Family-welfare Agencies.* To determine opinions concerning the relationship between the Federation and the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies, interviews were held with five leaders—lay and professional—of the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies and with a selected list of board members of the Federation.

All agreed that the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies were the result of Protestant endeavor and of the evolutionary development of Protestant positions. Likewise, all agreed that Protestants, as individuals, ought to work in the community family-welfare area through such agencies. All further agreed that there were four classes of welfare agencies: Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and non-sectarian.

Some of the executives of the family-welfare agencies hesitated to say that a line of demarcation between Protestant and non-sectarian classes existed in the family-welfare field. There was only commendation by Federation board members for the services of the family-welfare agencies, and no one expressed the opinion that there was overlapping between these services and those performed by the Federation.

It was stated unanimously that the establishment of the Social

---

<sup>47</sup>*Ibid.*

Service Information and Referral Bureaus by the Federation would assist all the family agencies and was a needed step. It was also agreed that, in the eyes of the other two sectarian welfare federations and in the eyes of many persons in the community, the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies were Protestant. An executive of a family-welfare agency sharpened this latter position by giving this basis of interpretation:

Non-sectarian family welfare agencies are not non-sectarian in the strict interpretation of the term. Historically, they were not only sponsored by Protestants; but today the boards are, by and large, composed of Protestants, and the income is to a large extent from Protestants.<sup>48</sup>

However, this leader did not express the opinion that the agencies were Protestant. The core of the issue was: What were non-sectarian agencies in sectarian terms?

The points of tension between the two groups seemed to center in the nature of each organization—the interpretation of its position made by each; the claims made and attitudes taken by other groups in the community; overlapping of financial interests; and, in the case of the Federation, the structural form of organization. As a summary of the divergent points of view expressed on the various issues involved, excerpts of statements by representatives of each group will be given in the following pages, as these relate respectively to the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies and to the Federation.

Executives of the non-sectarian agencies expressed the following opinions of appraisal concerning the Federation:

I am not in favor of sectarian federations. I think they divide the community. But since they are here, their test will be their survival value.<sup>49</sup>

The Federation is sectarian, but in its development it has sought to pull into membership many non-sectarian agencies.<sup>50</sup>

Some Protestants do not work through sectarian channels, and they do not want to be sectarian in service.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>48</sup>Interview with C. C.

<sup>49</sup>Interview with K. C.

<sup>50</sup>Interview with C. C.

<sup>51</sup>Interview with D. N.



The Federation advertises that it speaks for all Protestants. This it cannot do. . . .<sup>52</sup>

[It] appeals for funds as if [it] were serving all Protestants. . . . A Protestant Foundation is dangerous. It would ingrain sectarianism for all time, especially if in the hands of a narrow group. . . .<sup>53</sup>

The present board cannot represent the Protestants of the community in the strictest sense.<sup>54</sup>

In contrast with these, board members of the Federation gave the following critical opinions of the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies:

Like King Lear who turned over his kingdom to his children, and they disowned him, just so the non-sectarian agencies have disowned the groups which brought them forth.<sup>55</sup>

They cannot provide all the needed services.<sup>56</sup>

[They] are Protestant; [they] ought to stand up and be counted in the eyes of the community.<sup>57</sup>

[They] appeal to a large degree to Protestants for funds.<sup>58</sup>

[They] collect money from individual Protestants and then turn their backs upon Protestant churches.<sup>59</sup>

[They] are afraid of a financial threat of a Protestant Federation.<sup>60</sup>

[They] cannot represent Protestants on interfaith committees, although they are called upon to do so.<sup>61</sup>

It might be added that some of the leaders of the family agencies were aware that certain tensions were the result of errors on the part of their own agencies:

The non-sectarian family welfare agencies have not kept close to the Protestant churches. They have been behind in this.<sup>62</sup>

Could this executive have thought in sectarian terms? A second executive assumed another basis for tension:

<sup>52</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>53</sup>Interview with S. K.

<sup>54</sup>Interview with V. T.

<sup>55</sup>Interview with C. Y.

<sup>56</sup>Interview with D. X.

<sup>57</sup>Interview with V. T.

<sup>58</sup>Interview with K. B.

<sup>59</sup>Interview with G. S.

<sup>60</sup>Interview with S. D.

<sup>61</sup>Interview with C. C.

<sup>62</sup>Interview with C. S.

Non-sectarian agencies are called upon to be non-sectarian, in all ways. But unfortunately this is not easy in a sectarian community.<sup>63</sup>

The executives of the non-sectarian agencies defined the role that they thought the Federation might assume in the community:

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies should do a co-ordinating, coagulating, catalytic piece of work. There is a necessary place for the Federation. In the children's field, such work is indispensable. The community needs it.<sup>64</sup>

There is a legitimate place in the community for a Protestant welfare federation among those agencies which have a definite Protestant cleavage.<sup>65</sup>

A Protestant welfare federation is needed, first, to co-operate with non-sectarian agencies; and then to take care of those whose needs, aspirations, and hopes only Protestants know.<sup>66</sup>

However, these same social workers found specific limitations in the Federation and also some added opportunities:

It cannot parallel the other sectarian groups. The idea that "all Gaul is divided into three parts," and our side must have one part, is starting at the wrong place. The Protestant position is to take care of all the community first, although there is a need for a "watchdog" on sectarian interests.<sup>67</sup>

There is no place for a Protestant sectarian group which is only sectarian. What is needed is a Protestant group with a conscience and enthusiasm for social problems. Some group of Protestants must look after Protestant interests.<sup>68</sup>

The Federation ought to plan to represent not Protestants, but the community, in order to see that sectarianism is limited. This is a more difficult task than the other sectarian welfare federations have. The Protestant position in social welfare is not to parallel other sectarian welfare federations, but to excel. It is to serve not just Protestants, but the entire community.<sup>69</sup>

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies cannot speak for Protestantism and should not try. It cannot approximate the other sectarian welfare federations.<sup>70</sup>

<sup>63</sup>Interview with D. N.

<sup>64</sup>Interview with V. I.

<sup>65</sup>Interview with C. C.

<sup>66</sup>Interview with V. N.

<sup>67</sup>Interview with V. I.

<sup>68</sup>Interview with V. N.

<sup>69</sup>Interview with M. N.

<sup>70</sup>Interview with V. I.

It was clear that differences of opinion centered about the nature of Protestant sectarian and non-sectarian social work of the two groups, especially since all persons at some time thought in sectarian terms. It was also clear that the tensions could not be resolved until the Federation interpreted its sectarian nature distinctly and had an organizational structure that would consistently implement its position. Likewise, it was clear that non-sectarian leaders were not always aware of the looseness with which the term "non-sectarian" was used; and that they, too, needed to determine their own distinctive natures, and to have boards and organizations that reflected their respective claims.

### Summary

A selected group of board members who were interviewed agreed in expressing both positive and negative opinions as to the function of the Federation. It was the judgment of the majority that there was need for a Protestant welfare federation, and that this need was markedly accentuated by the presence of the other two sectarian welfare federations. There was agreement that a Protestant welfare federation ought to undertake services to child-care agencies and institutions, and to homes for the aged, as well as to co-ordinate in a general way the work of those groups that had definite Protestant bonds. However, there was also agreement that the function of a Protestant co-ordinating agency was not as inclusive as those of the other sectarian welfare federations in regard to areas of service, but that it was more inclusive in regard to the persons to be served, since all did not consider Protestant social work to be solely for Protestants.

The selected board members and leaders of co-ordinating agencies agreed that the Federation was recognized in certain fields, but stated that it still had to establish itself along more completely sectarian lines. They were also of the opinion that a more democratic form of organization was necessary to express the distinctive Protestant nature of the Federation. Board members interviewed likewise expressed agreement as

to the need for a closer relationship between the Federation and the Church Federations, since the distinctive nature of Protestantism is more completely revealed within the fellowship of the Protestant churches.

Although there was a majority opinion that the Federation could not strictly approximate the other two welfare federations, yet there was vagueness, awareness of tensions, and sharp disagreement as to the distinctive function of the Federation in relation to the two sectarian welfare federations, the general co-ordinating agencies, the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies, and those agencies that were both Protestant and non-sectarian. It was also revealed, however, that community co-ordinating agencies, in their efforts to avoid the dangers of sectarianism, were not always realistic, because a multitude of sectarian "sins" may hide behind a nominal non-sectarian approach.

It would thus appear, from the opinions of leading board members and representatives of outstanding co-ordinating and non-sectarian welfare agencies of New York City, that further clarification of function, a definite change to a democratic form of structural organization, and further experimentation in regard to its place in the community were needed on the part of the Federation.



## CHAPTER IV

# Why Do Member Agencies Belong to the Federation?

AS HAS BEEN SHOWN, the Jewish Welfare Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities of New York City have relatively strong ties with their member agencies—ties that result from a unity of purpose, clearly defined methods of work, financial and professional services rendered their constituencies, and definite organizational responsibilities. By contrast, what are the ties that bind member agencies to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, and how strong are these ties?

In order to answer these questions, the agencies were consulted directly as to:

1. The usefulness of the services rendered by the Federation.
2. The services considered most important by the agencies.
3. The agencies' reason or reasons for belonging to the Federation.

A Questionnaire on the Relationship of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies to Member Agencies, together with an explanatory letter,<sup>1</sup> was sent to the presidents of the boards of all member agencies. In the letter, it was suggested that the Questionnaire be discussed with the board and the chief executive of the agency or institution, in order that replies not be overweighted with opinions of paid personnel on the one hand or with those of non-informed board members on the other.

---

<sup>1</sup>The Questionnaire and the accompanying letter are reproduced in the Appendix, pp. 138-140.

It was also hoped that the process of sending a composite reply would be of educational value to the agency, as it was not certain that all board members were thoroughly informed of the Federation's policies and practices. The information obtained from the Questionnaire was supplemented by that obtained from interviews with six leaders of agencies that had not returned the Questionnaire.

#### Questionnaire on the Relationship of the F.P.W.A. to Member Agencies

The Questionnaire was divided into three sections. The first section consisted of a list of ten services offered member agencies by the Federation, in which all services used by the member agency were to be checked and those considered by them to be most important double-checked. The second section consisted of two parts, the first containing a brief explanation of the nature and function of the two non-Protestant sectarian welfare federations in New York City, and the second listing three statements by various leaders of Protestant welfare agencies giving the reason why member agencies should belong to the Federation. The respondents were asked to check the statement in the second part which, in their eyes, expressed most adequately the advantages that membership in the Federation held for member agencies. The purpose of the third section of the Questionnaire was to secure a response that would reflect the point of view of the agency, wholly uninfluenced by any suggestions given in the form of wording of the other two sections. Accordingly, in this section the respondents were simply asked to state, in their own words, their reason or reasons for belonging to the Federation.

One hundred and twenty-five copies of the Questionnaire were sent out. Of these, a total of eighty-six, or 68.8 per cent, were returned. Of the eighty-six filled out, seventy-five questionnaires were returned promptly; and eleven more were returned after a follow-up letter. The various types of member agencies to which the Questionnaire was sent, together with the number and percentage of returns, are shown in Table III.

TABLE III

SUMMARY OF QUESTIONNAIRES SENT TO AND RECEIVED  
FROM MEMBER AGENCIES OF THE F.P.W.A.

<i>Classification of Agencies</i>	<i>Question- naires Sent Out</i>	<i>Question- naires Received</i>	<i>Per Cent of Question- naires Received</i>
Adoption Agencies .....	3	2	66.6%
Agencies Caring for Dependent Children	26	22	84.6
Camps .....	1	0	0.0
Day Nurseries .....	4	3	75.0
Homes for Blind and Crippled Children	2	2	100.0
Church Neighborhood Houses .....	9	9	100.0
Protective and Correctional Agencies..	9	7	77.7
Housing .....	8	2	25.0
Temporary Shelters .....	3	2	66.6
Young People's Associations .....	5	4	80.0
Convalescent Care .....	3	1	33.3
Hospitals .....	9	2	22.2
Homes for the Aged.....	29	21	72.4
Homes for Seamen .....	2	1	50.0
Sheltered Workshops .....	1	0	0.0
General Services .....	11	8	72.7
	125	86	68.8%

Return of or failure to return the Questionnaire could not be taken as the sole indication of the tie that binds member agency and Federation together. Yet it is a fact and seems significant that those groups having the highest percentage of returns were generally those that were most active in the Federation's work and to which the Federation offered the most services. It seems significant also that, of the eighty-six agencies that filled out the Questionnaire, twenty-one—or about 24 per cent—did not double-check those services they held to be most important; and that, of these twenty-one, six frankly stated in attached comments that they did not feel capable of differentiating between the importance of the services rendered them by the Federation. The Questionnaire may not have clearly interpreted these services; but if this is granted, it would seem that a considerable number of the Federation's member agencies either did not give serious thought to what, in concrete terms, membership actually meant to them; or

did not feel that an expression of opinion by them would have tangible results in helping to implement the policies and program of the Federation.

### Analysis of the Returns

*Section I.* The list of services rendered by the Federation to its member agencies, together with those that were checked as rendered and double-checked as considered most important, are given below in Table IV.

TABLE IV

#### SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO SECTION I OF QUESTIONNAIRE TO MEMBER AGENCIES

<i>Service</i>	<i>Number of Responses</i>	
	<i>Checked</i>	<i>Double-checked</i>
1. Operates a central Information Bureau on social welfare for the Protestants of the community .....	59	23
2. Furnishes professional consultation and advisory services for member agencies...	60	25
3. Represents the interests of member agencies with City and State Departments of Social Welfare .....	54	23
4. Maintains a Case Work Department, to which agencies of the city refer clients to be placed .....	34	17
5. Enrolls Protestant children for summer camps .....	19	4
6. Conducts forums for board members, institutes for agency personnel, and case-work demonstrations within the agencies themselves on case-work procedures and programs .....	49	16
7. Makes studies of the organization and program of member agencies .....	53	13
8. Promotes a campaign among Protestants for bequests on behalf of Protestant social-welfare agencies .....	61	19
9. Advises Protestant agencies on publicity and money-raising plans .....	30	11
10. Conducts a Social Service Information and Referral Bureau for the Protestant Churches of Greater New York.....	15	10



Item 8, "Promotes a campaign among Protestants for bequests on behalf of Protestant social-welfare agencies," which received the most responses, deals with what is really a future, rather than a present, service; inasmuch as the Federation has not functioned as a fiscal agency for its members, although it has sought in various ways to serve these in a financial capacity. There was a marked variation in the two responses to the Questionnaire regarding this item. In the first response—that of listing services rendered—the financial service received the greatest number of checks, which would seem to indicate a major interest in this service. In the second one—that of listing the most important services—it ranked fourth. The change in position would seem to indicate an uncertainty or fluctuation in opinion regarding the importance of this particular service.

Item 2, "Furnishes professional consultation and advisory services for member agencies," ranked second in the first count and first in the second count. From the beginning, this has been one of the main functions of the Federation. The high place accorded it in the Questionnaire seems to indicate that it is so regarded by the member agencies. This evaluation also explains the degree of closeness of the tie binding particular types of agencies to the Federation. Institutions for dependent children and for the aged have been in a position to make the greatest use of this particular service, and have been more closely identified with the Federation than have some of the others—a number of which do not maintain a close relation.

Item 1, "Operates a central Information Bureau on social welfare for the Protestants of the community," likewise had a high place in the checking. It ranked third in the first count and tied with another item in the second, indicating the importance of this service—again particularly to institutions for dependent children and for the aged.

Item 3, "Represents the interests of member agencies with City and State Departments of Welfare," was evidently con-

sidered important by member agencies, for it ranked fourth in the first count and tied with Item 1 in the second. It was to render this service that the Federation came into being. It is interesting that only two of the twenty-two agencies caring for children from which Questionnaires were received did not check this item, while four of them considered it the most important function of the Federation. Also, twelve out of the twenty-one homes-for-the-aged respondents checked it. Thus it was considered important by the agencies that have consistently maintained the closest tie with the Federation.

It is noteworthy that the number of agencies checking these first three items in the first count varied by only one, indicating that not much difference seemed to be felt as to their relative importance.

As has been stated, the Federation maintains a department that conducts surveys for member agencies; in fact, a number of such surveys have been made. Some of these have furnished a basis for admitting new members and for establishing new services. In the first count, Item 2 received fifty-three responses, ranking fifth; whereas in the second count, its place dropped to seventh.

A service similar to Item 2 is Item 6, "Conducts forums for agency board members and institutes for agency personnel." More than half of the respondents checked this in the first count, even though it ranked sixth; and in the second count, its place had risen to fifth.

Most of the remaining items refer to specialized services of the Federation or to services rendered to particular agencies only, a fact that explains their low rank in both counts. Henceforth only the first count will be analyzed.

Item 4, "Maintains a Case Work Department, to which agencies of the City refer persons for placement," received but thirty-four responses in the first count, of which half came from member agencies caring for children and four from homes of the aged. This service represented a specialized function and one that has been of major importance since the in-

ception of the Federation. However, only those member agencies that had needed and used the service considered it a binding tie. The majority of respondents did not check it.

Item 9, "Advises Protestant agencies on publicity and money-raising plans," was checked by thirty respondents. This likewise was a limited service; it had been established more recently<sup>2</sup> and had been used by a relatively small number of member agencies.<sup>3</sup>

Item 5, "Enrolls Protestant children for summer camps," was checked by nineteen. This service involved a special group of agencies only. As might be expected, no respondent from the homes for the aged checked this item. However, it was checked by member agencies of four neighborhood houses, three general services, three young people's organizations, and six homes for children.

Item 10, "Conducts a Social Service Information and Referral Bureau for the Protestant Churches of Greater New York," received fifteen checks—the smallest number given any item—from respondents from four general services, three church neighborhood houses, two homes for the aged, two young people's organizations, and four member agencies scattered through the remaining twelve groups. It was to be expected that this service would concern the smallest number of member agencies, since it had just recently been established and its appeal was limited.

*Section II.* The second section of the Questionnaire, together with the number of responses, is reproduced in Table V. Three basic reasons for belonging to the Federation were listed, which are briefly:

1. A strong Protestant welfare federation is needed because

---

<sup>2</sup>A secretary of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies checked the Questionnaire and noted that respondents from five member agencies that use this service did not check it. This may have been due either to the fact that the respondents themselves did not know of the service or that they did not take care in checking the Questionnaire.

<sup>3</sup>According to staff members of the F.P.W.A.

there are strong Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations.

2. Protestant welfare agencies share certain common problems.

3. Affiliation is to the interest of all sectarian groups because so much state legislation is promoted on a sectarian basis.

TABLE V

SUMMARY OF REPLIES TO SECTION II OF  
QUESTIONNAIRE TO MEMBER AGENCIES

<i>Statement</i>	<i>Number of Responses</i>
1. Since there are strong Jewish and Roman Catholic welfare federations, there is need of a Protestant welfare federation .....	17
2. Protestant welfare agencies share certain common problems, which draw them into a group as a whole .....	35
3. Since much of state legislation is promoted on a sectarian basis, it is to the interest of individual agencies to be affiliated with their respective federations .....	9
Total Responses .....	<hr/> 61

Only sixty-one of the eighty-six agencies answering the Questionnaire manifested sufficient interest in this section dealing with certain broad reasons for membership to fill it out. Some agencies checked more than one item. Twelve checked all three; three checked the first and third; three the first and second; and one checked the second and third.

From these results, it would appear that the majority of the agencies consider as the chief reason for belonging to a federation the fact that Protestant agencies have common problems. Item 2 received a total of fifty-two responses. Nor did the majority of these responses indicate that the agencies considered either the presence of other sectarian federations in a community or the legal basis for sectarian social work as constituting sufficient grounds for membership. This statement of sharing common problems as a basis for federation



received thirty-five exclusive checks and, in addition, twelve more checks by those respondents who checked all three items. Item 2 also received five more checks from respondents who checked but two statements.

Item 1, relating to the existence of strong Jewish and Roman Catholic federations of welfare agencies, received markedly fewer checks than Item 2, relative to common problems—namely seventeen, or less than half. However, all seventeen responses agreed with the opinions expressed by selected board members (leaders in the field) whose interviews have been reported.

Item 3, relating to the legal basis for sectarian social work received but nine checks. Of the nine agencies that checked this statement alone, four were children's agencies, four were homes for the aged, and one was an agency whose services related to the courts. It is interesting that this statement, which expresses the basis for the initial organization of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, received so few checks.

The twelve respondents who checked all three statements did not distinguish between them in importance. The responses of seven member agencies that checked two statements might lead one to assume that the respondents were aware that the statements were not mutually exclusive, which they were not. Then, too, these seven may have thought the basis of membership could best be expressed by more than one response, an assumption which might also be made for the twelve respondents who checked all three statements.

*Section III.* The third section of the Questionnaire, which consisted of personal statements as to the chief reason or reasons for belonging to the Federation, was answered by 80 per cent of the respondents. Replies varied all the way from a brief, single-sentence statement to a two-page letter. Obviously, all the answers to this section did not lend themselves to detailed classification. In the following analysis, therefore, an attempt has been made to retain, insofar as possible, the original phrasing of the respondent.

Fifty-five of the agencies gave replies that fall clearly into

certain categories. The largest number of respondents (twenty-two) stated that the reason for belonging to the Federation was to secure professional services and information about social-work policies and services. The next largest number of responses (fourteen) came from "those desiring unity and unified action on the part of Protestant welfare agencies." Many respondents protested against disunity, stating that Protestant welfare agencies needed a "uniting" federation. Eight responses might be classified under the heading of "federation because of common problems." These responses overlapped considerably with those in the first classification, but have been considered separately because eight respondents phrased their reason for belonging to the Federation almost identically. Seven respondents indicated that the primary purpose in belonging to a federation was the need of having Protestant representation, a "Protestant voice," in the field of social work. In twelve instances, financial assistance was given as the reason for membership in the Federation. Some agencies were frank enough to give as their reason for belonging to the Federation the fact that they were receiving financial aid from the Baldwin Fund.

Some reasons given for belonging to the Federation could not be classified, but more or less isolated opinions are given here because they reflect the attitudes of individual agencies. Some respondents gave abstract reasons for belonging to the Federation; others specified the assistance they felt they had received from it. In one case, a respondent stated that the reason for belonging to the Federation was in order to voice a Protestant attitude toward life, in contrast with a Jewish or Roman Catholic attitude. Two respondents stated that membership was due to a need for a Protestant sectarian federation in the community, while two others gave as their reason for membership the need for professional standards among Protestant social-welfare agencies and the fact that the Federation was supplying these adequately. Still another mentioned the need for community planning.

One respondent wrote that "the board regrets the sectarian

point of view which the Protestant Welfare Federation must hold," but went on to say that his agency belonged to the Federation for this very reason.

"There seems to be little the Federation can do for us, and little we can do for it," said one respondent, and another revealed a similar attitude:

I am sorry to say I stand alone on this. Our board sees no reason why our agency should belong.

In contrast with this attitude, another respondent was decidedly appreciative of the Federation:

Our chief reason for belonging to the Federation is that it is a forward-looking organization, in touch with the best modern thought in social work. This organization has been of great service in stimulating and shaping policies for maintaining and improving the work of this institution, and of making it fit more closely into the welfare program of the community.

One respondent reflected an awareness of the deeper reasons for membership:

The importance of Protestant agencies working together to present a united front, as well as the importance of church agencies entering as much as possible into the field of organized social service.

In regard to the degree of help received from the Federation, there seemed marked divergence of opinion. It seems extremely interesting that only one respondent made a statement implying appreciation of the fact that membership in the Federation should be a reciprocal relationship. He wrote:

To receive the benefit of information which only a central agency and professional leaders can supply and to contribute our experience to the common pool [are our reasons for belonging].

*Supplementary Information.* In considering the three sections of the Questionnaire, certain broad trends in opinion were reflected, but the nature of the opinions expressed indicates a decided vagueness on the part of the agencies as to why they belonged or should belong to the Federation. An attempt was made to explain this vagueness and the looseness of the

tie holding member agencies to the Federation by consulting six leaders of member agencies that had not replied to the Questionnaire. The reasons given by these leaders are classified as follows:

1. The services of the member agency that they represented did not fall directly into the social-work field. In one case, the member agency considered its services more closely allied to the religious field than to social work; in another, the emphasis was more in the field of recreation. The area of service marked by the Federation excluded some member agencies from more than nominal participation.

2. The Y.W.C.A. considered itself Christian but not sectarian. Its position was stated as interfaith; and, although a member of the Federation, it did not consider itself closely attached in the areas of functioning and services of the Federation.

3. One member agency that held a nominal membership in the Federation felt no tie other than that of a common Protestant heritage, but expressed the need for a closer relationship.

4. Some member agencies cited personality clashes as the reason for lack of closer relationship.

5. Although the Lutheran position was stated by a representative of the welfare federation for the Lutheran agencies of the city, this representative nevertheless justified membership in the Federation on the following grounds:

Our faith is our religion. This religion is Protestant, but it expresses itself through parochial institutions. There are two items in our religion:

- a. The word of God (this holds our group together).
- b. The sacraments (these make us a family).

We prefer to work by ourselves. Yet we want to belong in a distant way to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies for a number of reasons:

- a. For broader Protestant representation.
- b. For Protestant community funds.
- c. For keeping up social-work standards.



- d. For preventing a parochial group from becoming narrow, bigoted, and self-satisfied.

6. One member agency thought the Federation should appeal for funds for all Protestant welfare agencies. Since it was not doing this, this leader stated that only nominal membership in the Federation was possible for his agency.

### Summary

It would seem that the replies to the Questionnaire and the supplementary information gained from interviews with six leaders have answered, to some extent at least, the question asked at the beginning of this chapter as to the nature and strength of the ties binding members to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. To a large degree, this tie is the concrete professional services rendered these agencies by the Federation—particularly the professional social-work and informational services, and their representation before City and State Welfare Departments. In other words, the agencies are held together largely on a life-and-work basis. Among the abstract reasons for belonging to the Federation, the need for unified action, for meeting common problems, and for having a Protestant voice in social work are underscored.

The number of agencies that did not show sufficient interest to answer the Questionnaire, along with those answers received and the supplementary information gained through interviews with leaders of various outstanding agencies, revealed:

1. A loose tie between the member agencies and the Protestant Welfare Federation.
2. Wide divergence in point of view as to the concrete services to be rendered by a federation of Protestant agencies and the broad reasons for belonging to such a federation.
3. Lack of appreciation of the fact that a federation of social agencies implies a reciprocal relationship between the federation and its members.
4. Lack of understanding of the unique nature of Protestant social work.

Only approximately 69 per cent of the agencies considered the subject of membership in the Federation of sufficient importance to fill out and return the Questionnaire. In reply to the question, "What holds the Protestant agencies together in New York City?" those answers that were submitted varied widely. On one point—pertaining to the fiscal service that might be rendered by the Federation—not only was there contradictory opinion among the agencies but, in some cases, identical agencies gave different responses in two separate sections of the Questionnaire. On points where respondents criticized the services of the Federation or questioned the value of belonging to it, no concrete suggestions were offered as to how the Federation could be made more useful. Only one member agency seemed to consider that membership in the Federation was reciprocal—that is, that agencies must give to the Federation as well as gain from it. Finally, the distinctiveness of Protestant welfare federation was mentioned by only a minority of the respondents. Consistently, the term "Protestant" was not explored, it was taken for granted. While the phrasing of the Questionnaire may have been responsible to some degree for the nature of these responses, it does not seem possible that it can be wholly responsible.

As has been mentioned in previous chapters of this study, the other sectarian groups in New York City—the Roman Catholic Charities and the Jewish Welfare Federation—are held together by a centralized religious faith and by a definite religious-cultural interest, respectively. The tie that holds them is strong, so that there is never any question as to the purpose served by federation or as to agency relationship to either of these federations. They have a philosophy, a point of view; and these are implemented. The history of the Protestant Federation, on the other hand, and opinion studies of Federation board members, representative community agencies, and member agencies indicate that, in this respect, the Protestant welfare agencies stand in marked contrast to other sectarian groups.

## CHAPTER V

# Facing the Major Issues of Protestant Welfare Federation

THE FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES of New York City finds itself involved, as any co-ordinating agency would, in certain fundamental problems—maintaining its status in the eyes of its member agencies and of the community, and in its own eyes; raising money to support itself through its claims and appeals to a constituency; providing concrete services to member agencies and to the community; having a board that formulates policies, and that seeks to interpret and implement its purposes. The Federation does not face these problems one by one or in detached situations, for each is a part of a single whole, and all are part of the intricate and complex pattern of the welfare work of the great city of New York.

The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, a definite, living organism, finds itself side by side with two other sectarian welfare federations—the Roman Catholic Charities and the Jewish Federation—both of which are well-established and strong. Although the latter organizations are markedly different from each other in function, in form of organization, in types of service offered, and in constituency served, both are definitely sectarian. One is ecclesiastically authoritarian, and the other centered in a persecuted-conscious minority group. Both stem from older traditions; their constituencies are sharply marked; their functions are specific; their organizational structures are concretely built to implement their purposes; they are definitely accepted in the community; and they are financially strong. With these two influential sectarian welfare federations the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is compared and compares itself; and against this background it seeks to work out its own pattern of growth.

Chronologically, the Federation, organized in 1921, has now (1943) reached maturity. It has grown steadily from a Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children to *the* Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. The Federation's entire approach—its history, its Articles of Incorporation, its services, the philosophy of its board members, and its community relationships—is based on the assumption that the Federation serves as *the* sectarian welfare federation for the Protestant group in New York City. It is from this standpoint that the present study was made, out of which five major interrelated issues emerge. These issues were inherent in the situation through the early (childhood) years of the Federation; they were emphasized in its adolescence. When these issues have been faced clearly, the true nature of the Federation has been revealed; when they have been hidden or ignored, difficulties have ensued. Now they are the sober issues of adulthood, and the manner and degree in which they are met will determine the maturation of the Federation. The five issues center in the Federation's organizational structure, fields of service, types of service, relations with community agencies, and relations with Protestant churches.

### Organizational structure

The first issue, as to what its organizational structure should be, has presented itself to the Federation almost since its inception. The organization was brought into existence by representatives from a group of child-care agencies. These agencies set up a democratic form of organization in which the shared participation of member organizations was basic. Soon, however, they encountered difficulties. There was a desire within the Federation for greater efficiency, more centralization in co-ordination, and the need for more financial support than membership dues could provide. As a result, five years after its organization a self-perpetuating board replaced the original democratically organized group; and this has remained the form of organizational structure throughout its subsequent history. From this form of organization have resulted conflicts



within the Federation itself that have never been completely resolved.

Can a federation with this structural organization represent Protestants and win the wholehearted support of Protestant welfare agencies? This has been a continuing question. The history of the organization can hardly be said to justify a completely affirmative answer to this question. In the early years, the "Protestant Protective Unity League" came into conflict with the Federation on the issue of representation, a conflict that was not resolved until the League went out of existence. Tension also developed when the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies opposed an all-inclusive Protestant Charities, and again when the short-lived Protestant Foundation was organized. This form of organizational structure was pointed up in an examination of the Administrative Council's function. It was fundamental to the question of representation before the Welfare Council and on the committees of the Greater New York Fund. It was responsible for some of the tension with the church federations.

When one turns to opinion studies, evidence as to the problem of organizational structure is even more striking. The members of the Board themselves stated that the form of organization embodied in the Federation could not represent Protestants, was inconsistent with Protestant tradition, and should be made more democratic. Moreover, community social-work leaders who were interviewed agreed with the board member-opinion study.

In regard to the question as to whether the plan of a self-perpetuating board for the Federation had the wholehearted support of Protestant welfare agencies, the evidence is also negative. The existence of a gap between the Federation and its constituent members was revealed by the following facts:

1. A large number of member agencies did not reply to the Questionnaire mailed in connection with this study.
2. There were many nominal members in the Federation.
3. Outside of certain fields of service and types of service,

member agencies had little contact with the Federation; and those that did participate in the Federation program had only advisory responsibility on the Board.

Although the present structural organization of the Federation has not solved the problem of representation or of wholehearted support of Protestant welfare agencies, it is true that the self-perpetuating board has made for centralization of control, for the efficient providing of services, for the enlistment of outstanding persons as board members, for the securing of balanced and expanding budgets, and for the direct accomplishment of much social work. With these commendable assets, the issue that the Federation still has to face concerns the form of structural organization consistent with a *Protestant* welfare federation.

#### Fields of service

The second issue—that of the Federation's proper fields of service—pointed up other problems. Originally limiting its service to the child-care field, the Federation soon expanded into the area of homes for the aged. Ten years after its organization, it sought to include in its membership, as nearly as possible, all Protestant welfare agencies of the community. It desired to serve in most areas of service, as the other sectarian welfare federations were doing, but met with varied response. In the child-care area, in which it had pioneered and in which it had given most of its service—service that was needed—it was accepted. In the field of the homes for the aged, while it provided a much needed service, it was not accepted to the same degree. In the fields of youth, health, family welfare, recreation, and other areas already well organized, it met with co-operation in some instances and with indifference in others. In the family-welfare field, where the non-sectarian agencies were dominant and where there was no recognized Protestant family-welfare agency, tension sometimes existed between the Federation and the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies.

Although certain agencies resisted the Federation's move to include all fields of service, the Federation found that, when

it entered an area experimentally or demonstrated the need for a special service within an area, its leadership was recognized and was accepted. This acceptance was demonstrated in the Social Service Bureaus set up for the churches, in an adult recreation center in Harlem, and in certain other projects. On the other hand, the Federation did not attempt to provide leadership where this was not essential. When a survey of possible hospital services was made, for example, the Federation concluded that denominational hospitals had more in common with the Hospital Council and the United Hospital Fund than with itself, and decided to limit its service in the health area.

Areas of acceptance were also reported in the opinion studies of board members who stated that they considered the definite fields of service of the Federation to be in the areas of child care and of homes for the aged. In these areas, they considered the Federation to be integrated, but beyond them they were uncertain as to the fields of service of the Federation. Community social-work leaders concurred in this opinion concerning the Federation's service in the child-care area, but were less certain about that of homes for the aged. However, both board members and community social-work leaders endorsed the experimental work that the Federation carried on generally. Member agencies also confirmed this judgment.

Although its experimentation in specific areas helped to clarify its services, the independence of member agencies, coupled with the desirability of having the Federation represent the entire Protestant field, kept the organization uncertain as to its program. Although it has a nucleus of established areas in which it has done and still is doing basic work, the Federation has not finally determined its areas of service. In this respect, it stands in marked contrast with the other sectarian welfare federations.

### Types of service

The third issue faced in developing the Federation was concerned with types of service. Questions like the following need

to be considered: What services has the Federation offered? To what degree have these services been used? What are the problems relating to these services?

The Federation gradually developed the following services:

1. *Consultative Services*—on social work and on financial appeals and publicity, both with a view to co-ordination and standard raising.

2. *Representative Services*—first before City and State Welfare Departments, and then before city co-ordinating agencies and the community at large.

3. *Interpretative Services*—interpreting the work of the member agencies to the community and, in turn, the community to member agencies.

4. *Information and Referral Services.*

5. *Case-work Services.*

6. *Financial Services*—serving as a repository of gifts and bequests.

All of these types of service were directed toward achieving for Protestants an "approximation of the other two welfare federations."

*Consultative Services.* These were used by many member child-care agencies, by many homes for the aged, and by some churches. This type of service formed the major part of its program and was a basis of the Federation's contribution to member agencies. In the areas of child care, homes for the aged, and social service for churches, the Federation was definitely equipped; but a much larger staff of specialists would have been needed to provide agencies in all other areas of its membership with consultative and professional social-work services. Although from questionnaires it was learned that professional consultative services were the primary ties binding member agencies to the Federation, yet these services were limited. The Federation was asking itself continually what additional services might be rendered through consultation.

*Representative Services.* The Federation was accepted as representing Protestant interests before City and State De-



partments of Welfare in regard to child care. This was one of the services that brought it into existence and that it has discharged with high credit. The Federation *has* represented Protestant child-care interests before City and State Departments throughout its history, but the authority for even this representation was an assumption on its part, for it has not been wholeheartedly accepted in this representative capacity either by its own members or by the public departments.

In other areas and with other community agencies, the Federation has likewise not been certain of its representative function and authority. Before community co-ordinating agencies, the Federation represented its member agencies; but from opinions of board members and community social-work leaders, as well as from member agencies, there was clearly established evidence that this function was more used by the Federation than by member agencies. Few member agencies actively sought representation; the structural organization did not make it possible for them to be directly represented. As a result, the Federation found its representative function much misinterpreted and was uncertain of the extent to which it was able to provide representation.

Nevertheless, the Federation sought to speak on behalf of Protestant groups in the social-work field. In a complex community, it is impossible for each institution to contact all phases of life, and therefore much work needs to be done through representation. In this, the Federation has sought to do a much needed work; but it stands in marked contrast with the other sectarian welfare federations in the degree to which it represents its constituency.

*Interpretative Services.* The services offered by the Federation in interpreting member agencies to the community were established to the degree that agencies desired. In some instances, considerable interpretative work was undertaken. As an example, in the publication of the *Protestant Manual* for soliciting gifts and bequests, over one hundred Protestant agencies participated. Likewise, community plans and projects were interpreted to the agencies interested in these developments,

to the extent that the Federation was equipped to provide such service. An example was the attempt by the Federation to interpret the Greater New York Fund to its member agencies. Most agencies acknowledged the value of the Federation's role as interpreter; others preferred to seek their information independently and directly.

*Information and Referral Services.* As might be expected, the information services of the Federation have been used extensively, both by member agencies and by individuals in the community. The acceptable nature of this service was also testified to by board members, community social-work leaders, and member agencies. This service is a distinctive contribution of a co-ordinating agency and has been put to increasing use. However, certain member agencies do not use the service. Also, the information is in practice confined primarily to institutional facilities, and often agencies have other questions about which they would like information. The Federation has not been certain as to how far it ought to extend the information service, and member agencies have used it only to a limited degree.

As regards the referral service for the churches, the Federation has pioneered and become established in this area. There has been uncertainty, however, as to the meaning of "referral." In most instances, the word is used in its literal sense; but sometimes the Federation has given a more direct service. Protestant churches always have had social service, most of it not on a professional level. When the Federation established a working relationship with the churches in the field of social service, it set out to provide consultative referral services; but it was uncertain as to how far to go, and so too were the churches uncertain as to the extent of assistance wanted.

*Case-work Services.* In the field of case work, the Federation has done important and needed work. Since early in its history, it has referred children for placement in Protestant institutions, both as to commitments from public departments and from parents or guardians. There has been a separate Case Work Department since 1928. The Federation has also

provided for the enrollment of children from Protestant agencies and, in some instances, from the community for certain summer camps. About two thirds of this work still is with children; but since the establishment of the Divisions for the Aged and for the Churches, the Case Work Department has also handled adults and youth.

Although the Federation, throughout its history, has provided exceptional service in case work, there has been present the continued question as to whether some direct-relief services ought not to be provided. In this, the Federation has stood in marked contrast with the other sectarian welfare federations.

*Financial Services.* Many problems arose with regard to the financial relationship of the Federation to member agencies. Twice the Federation tried to become an all-inclusive fiscal federation for Protestant and non-sectarian welfare agencies. Both attempts failed; yet the Federation was legally incorporated as a fiscal agency, in spite of the fact that it had never completely defined its fiscal relationship with its member agencies.

With reference to community funds, the Federation has always felt a sense of responsibility for interpreting Protestant-agency need. Also, the Federation's function with reference to the Greater New York Fund included the responsibility for the transmittal of checks from the Fund to member agencies.

The establishment of the Protestant Foundation was an unsuccessful attempt to clarify a possible fiscal service to the Protestant group. Similarly, the Baldwin Fund and Youth's Foundation have provided an opportunity for specific fiscal service to member agencies. The income on the Baldwin Fund has been used in varying ways—in direct grants, in financing experimental projects to raise social work-standards, and in experimental projects to meet definite needs. It has made available an average of \$12,828 annually for the years 1932 to 1942 for an average of about sixty institutions and agencies. The income from the Youth's Foundation has been used primarily for educational scholarships to young people. A

total of \$11,961 for the years 1930 to 1942 was granted to a hundred and four young people.

Although the Federation has distributed certain limited funds among its member agencies, in addition to raising its own annual budget, yet its history reveals an uncertain financial policy in regard to becoming a central fund-raising agency. The Federation has found itself, like Hamlet, asking: "To be or not to be—that is the question."

Board members and community social-work leaders, as well as member agencies, were also uncertain as to what fiscal leadership the Federation should provide. Board members expressed the opinion that it ought to become a fiscal agency, "like the Jewish Federation." However, community social-work leaders who were interviewed were uncertain as to whether centralized financing for member agencies was a legitimate service for the Federation, although some of these same leaders recognized that the Federation was thus disadvantaged, as compared with the two other sectarian welfare federations. The majority of those member agencies who responded to the Questionnaire discussed in the last chapter expressed a primary interest in the financial function of the Federation. While they were uncertain as to what exactly the nature of this functioning should be, their manner of checking the questions on fiscal service may certainly be taken as indicative of their interest in it. Although board members, member agencies, and community leaders were uncertain as to the fiscal function of the Federation, all endorsed experimentation along fiscal lines, especially as regards any assistance the Federation might render on special projects in the member-agency field.

*Achieving "Approximation."* Finally, the over-all profession of the Federation—namely, to approximate for Protestants what the Jewish and Roman Catholic federations meant to their respective constituents—again presented tension and conflict. Although the Federation stated this policy in its *Annual Reports*, it found itself questioned on this point by both board members and community social-work leaders; likewise, its his-



tory has failed to substantiate this profession. In fact, there has not even been a clear definition by the Federation as to what the term "approximate" means. Indeed, it may be too vague and elastic to lend itself to definition.

Although the Federation may not have clarified the degree to which it approximated the other sectarian welfare federations, yet it is to be noted that whenever the Federation made a survey or experimented to determine whether a new service was to be established or an old one enlarged—for example, professional intake services in child-care agencies; dietary study and medical care in homes for the aged; social service information and referral services for churches—and the service was needed by the community, the service in question became a definite part of the Federation and the leadership of the Federation was accepted.

#### Relations with community agencies

The fourth issue—namely, that of the Federation's relationship to community agencies—deals primarily with the problem of non-sectarian family-welfare agencies and other central co-ordinating agencies.

*Non-sectarian Family-welfare Agencies.* Initially, the Federation sought to include non-sectarian family agencies in its membership and tried to enlist their support in the attempted establishment of Protestant Charities. But both the Federation and the agencies were appealing to the same sources for support, with the result that misunderstanding and tension arose. Also, in community-fund allotments for family-welfare agencies, the Jews, Roman Catholics, and non-sectarian family-welfare agencies each received a share, but there was no Protestant family-welfare agency to receive a specific Protestant share. Again misinterpretations resulted.

To some groups in the community, the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies were acting on behalf of Protestants. Moreover, these agencies were largely controlled and supported by Protestants, and sometimes they were even "unofficially" representative of Protestants. To help clarify this

situation, the Board of the Federation set up a definition of a Protestant agency and constitutionally, though not actually, excluded all non-sectarian agencies from membership. This definition assumed the existence of four groups of private welfare agencies—Jewish, Roman Catholic, Protestant, and non-sectarian—and provided a basis for identifying Protestant agencies. At the same time, paradoxically enough, the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies set up the Protestant Foundation to include non-sectarian agencies; and its services were also made available to all non-sectarian agencies. The distinction between Protestant and non-sectarian agencies has never been clarified, either by the non-sectarian agencies or by the Protestant group, to their own satisfaction or that of the community.

This situation was clearly revealed in all the opinion studies. Although Federation board members criticized the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies and recognized the need for four distinct groups of private welfare agencies from a sectarian point of view, they also recognized that these non-sectarian agencies were definite outgrowths of Protestant endeavor in the welfare field, and hence commended the services these agencies rendered and thought Protestants ought to support them. Indeed, board members expressed the opinion that it was necessary for the Federation to establish working relationships with these agencies.

Likewise, a group of community social-work leaders expressed the opinion that, regardless of misunderstandings and confusion between the Federation and the non-sectarian agencies, the Protestant tradition necessitated that these two groups come to some working agreement. From the answers to questionnaires mailed to member agencies, although it was revealed that some agencies objected to a sectarian stand and others felt the Federation should be exclusively sectarian, it was indicated that, on the whole, non-sectarian agencies and the Federation had definite ties.

*Central Co-ordinating Agencies.* Another phase of this problem of community relationships also revealed similar tensions

—namely, the problem of relating the Federation to central community co-ordinating agencies, which, like the family-welfare agencies, operated not along sectarian but functional lines.

The Federation sought recognition on the part of the Welfare Council of its sectarian position and leadership in the community, but the Council was apparently unable to give this matter consideration. However, when the Federation urged the appointment of a Protestant Federation representative on the Central Admission and Distribution Committee of the Greater New York Fund, one of its board members was invited to serve on this committee.

At the same time that the Federation insisted upon its sectarian position, it also endorsed the functional approach of the Welfare Council. The result was that, in the confusion over sectarian and functional approaches to community organization, the Federation has never been entirely certain of its course. Board-member opinion revealed this same uncertainty, on the one hand expressing a belief in a sectarian approach to the community, and on the other endorsing the functional approach. The opinion of community social-work leaders reflected the conflict, but did not endorse the sectarian position to the same extent as did the board. Likewise, member agencies expressed conflicting points of view, so that it was impossible to glean a majority opinion.

### Relations with Protestant churches

The fifth and final issue raised by the problems of a growing Protestant Welfare Federation may be stated in the form of a question: "How can a federation of Protestant welfare agencies successfully include Protestant churches in its orbit?" From its inception, the Federation tried to establish some relationship with the Protestant churches, primarily through the federations of churches. Various overtures were made by the agency group to the church groups, but no definite results were attained until 1937. In that year, a co-operative relationship was achieved through the establishment of interlocking

boards, the opening of Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus by the Federation, and a division of responsibility between the Federation and the church federations.

This first step in co-operation laid the foundation for further joint action, but the independence of the federations concerned limited the actual accomplishments. Direct and genuine representation of the churches on the board of the Federation did not result. Information and referral services were available for the churches and proved a definite asset to certain ones, but these services were used only by a minority of the churches. Social work and social action were still separated. Sectarian support on behalf of social work was more unified since there was an interrelationship between the federations of churches and the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, but a united sectarian group had not really come into being.

Board-member as well as community social-work opinion studies revealed an endorsement of these interrelating steps and a recognition of the fact that the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies and the church federations ought to come closer together, for it was within such fellowship that Protestant sectarian expression would most likely be found. There was also the awareness that what had been accomplished represented only the beginning. Although the Federation had established definite contacts with the churches, it had not in reality been accepted by them, either as representing Protestant welfare federation or Protestant social service.

### Protestantism in social work—the basic problem

Despite the difficulties that the Federation has experienced in meeting issues with which it has been confronted in establishing a structural organization that would implement its true nature, in verifying fields and types of service consistent with its distinctive function, in finding an integrated place in the community welfare pattern, and in relating itself to Protestant churches—nevertheless it has met definite social-work needs. The ultimate test of any social agency, as with other agencies, is the quality and extent of assistance it provides for



meeting human needs—the needs of boys and girls, men and women. While the Federation has been concerned with major issues as to its nature and function, it has also continued to expand and to provide services for member agencies in order that they, in turn, might serve the community more effectively in meeting actual human need. The Federation has been a definite instrument through which social services have been continuously developed.

The chief cause for confusion over the function of the Federation, however, on the basis of this study, would seem to be its failure to define and to implement the distinctive character of the term "Protestant," as this relates to social work. It has been shown that the Roman Catholic Charities and the Jewish Federation have well-defined fields and types of service, definite functions, and strong organizations, each expressive of its distinctive sectarian nature; whereas the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, because of the very nature of Protestantism, is less sharply defined and more inarticulate. Thus, in order to determine its distinctive function, the Federation needs to examine itself in the light of Protestantism.

*The Roots of Protestantism.* Faith is of the essence of Protestantism. The Protestant faith is not one, but many; its unity is difficult to find. The individual and his needs are starting points, each individual being of ultimate worth. Individualism is a foundation; thus variations and differences are basic. Toleration of differences is essential; uniformity is not desirable. The brotherhood of man is a goal. Liberty and freedom are granted to all, insofar as action is consistent with the common good. Each according to his own conscience is the way of approach; experimentation is the way of search. Good works flow from joyous experiences. The past is significant as a guide to the present. Co-operation among individuals and groups is central; fellowship is integral. Democracy in all relationships is a concomitant; democratic education a necessity. With so wide a berth, it follows that sects are inevitable, and that there will be considerable variation among them

Service on behalf of each according to his varying needs is primary; institutions are secondary. Positive good will is the deepest motivation.

Evangelism is of the nature of the Protestant faith. Witnessing on behalf of deep and satisfying experiences, and voicing protest against anything that would deprive the individual of his own innermost experience, are outgrowths. The roots of Protestantism are theological; they center in a way of salvation. Faith that a God, as revealed in Jesus Christ, has made and still does make possible right and satisfying experiences to each person in the doing of the Divine Will, constitutes the basic affirmation of a true Protestant.

*The Nature of Protestant Social Work.* When charity and social work are viewed in the light of this tradition of the worth and freedom of the individual, it is found that distinctive emphases have been developed. Liberty has resulted in almost complete independence of welfare agencies; and diversity, nearly to the point of anarchy, has followed. Experimentation in finding new needs, new fields and types of service, has been carried on; and most areas of social work have been explored. But this emphasis upon the individual, upon his freedom and possibilities, has resulted in a complete lack of a unified system and of centralized planning. Whatever unified approaches there have been among Protestant groups have been on the basis of voluntary co-operation. Also, charity and social-work services have been extended on the basis of need, regardless of race, color, or creed.

Against the background of Protestant tradition, two different emphases as to control of charitable and social-work institutions and agencies have emerged. On the one hand, Protestants have tended to establish needed services, and to carry these until they could be turned over to the community and retained on a functional—not a sectarian—basis. This tendency has resulted in a minimum of ecclesiastical control and an absence of a specialized ministry for charity and social work. The State has been encouraged to be responsible for

general welfare work. Undoubtedly, the absence of a single authoritative Protestant faith has been a factor in the willingness of Protestants to follow this policy.

On the other hand, there has also been the tendency to establish and maintain more definitely Protestant institutions and agencies in those areas, as of child care and other fields, in which religion of some type was inevitably involved and a choice as between Protestant, Roman Catholic, and Jewish faiths was necessary. Sectarian social work was continued in these areas. Because the areas in which religion was inevitably involved have been limited, the first emphasis has predominated in the Protestant approach to social work. The result of this tendency has been an indefinite line of demarcation between non-sectarian and Protestant charity and social work, with a limited sectarian development and a maximum stress on human need. Although the sectarian emphasis has been limited, it has been sufficient to form the basis of Protestant social work and of Protestant welfare federation. Yet both a sectarian emphasis and a tendency to carry on social work without sectarian affiliation have been influential factors in the motivation, organization and program of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies throughout its history.

### Facing the issues

As a final step in this study it is proposed to make a limited number of concrete suggestions on each of the five major issues which have emerged in this study and which have been discussed above, with a view to realigning the Federation's function in the light of the Protestant faith.

*Organizational Structure.* How does the organizational structure of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies appear in the light of the Protestant tradition as regards charity and social work, as well as in the light of this study? Since the closed board does not and cannot represent welfare agencies and Protestant members of the community, and since it does not have the wholehearted support of member agencies, the Federation should let itself become more representative of, more

controlled by, and more concerned about the member agencies and its constituents, and thus function more in keeping with its Protestant tradition.

Protestantism and democracy are not synonymous, but the underlying assumptions of democracy—the ultimate worth of persons, the brotherhood of man as a goal, and the right of all men to that amount of freedom that is consistent with the common good—are also basic assumptions of Protestantism. A democratic board with democratic methods of administration would provide a broader and truer base of representation. It would provide greater educational opportunities through fuller reciprocal relationships with member agencies. These would also make for the growth of member agencies, the encouragement of initiative, and the development of potentialities for serving more effectively.

The writer is aware of the difficulty of insuring efficient action and, at the same time, safeguarding individual and group participation in the process. Too much representation often blocks action. Too much consideration for the growth of any individual part may seem at times to limit the material advancement of the whole. It is true that the democratic board and democratic methods would be more difficult to assure, and often would not secure tangible results as quickly. The Federation might, therefore, seem to be less effective and less adequate than are the two more centralized sectarian welfare federations. But this is the basic problem that democracy has always faced. Those who hold the Protestant faith and follow the democratic tradition believe that the respect for and growth of persons more than justifies any seeming administrative inefficiency; that, in the long run, this approach is the more efficient because it fosters the intelligent responsible participation and co-operation of individuals and agencies. The Protestant tradition calls for a democratic organization structurally, and democratic methods of service and administration.

It is not within the province of this study to present a blueprint, either of organizational structure or methods of administration and service. Some suggestions, however, are needed



to indicate possible steps for the Federation if a democratic setup is to provide for both individual growth and effective social functioning. Member agencies must have actual authority with reference to their Federation. Adults, like children, grow primarily as they have authority and assume responsibility. Ecclesiastical groups must be actually represented, not because they are ecclesiastical, but because they constitute the most important Protestant group in the community.

Those independent Protestant groups that achieve leadership in the field of social work or social action are integral parts of the Protestant group as a whole and must have some relationship to the Federation. Negro groups, which traditionally have been Protestant, must have an opportunity to express their needs and interests. Similarly, it certainly would be consistent with the Protestant tradition to have not only board personnel of member agencies represented, but also staff and clients on the policy-making groups. Even the Protestant non-churchgoer, "the man in the street," might have something to contribute. Thus, in order to give all types of Protestants some representation on the board and some opportunity to participate in policy making, the writer would suggest a board composed of 50 per cent of outstanding members, as at present, and 50 per cent of those closely associated with member agencies and Protestant groups of the community.

*Fields of Service.* With regard to areas of service covered by the Federation, a paradox is presented. Protestants have sought on the one hand to cover all fields, so as to neglect no one, and on the other hand to withdraw from areas of service in favor of non-sectarian and public agencies. Where does such a position leave the Federation? Does it not mean that the Federation must search all areas, to be certain that they are covered, and at the same time take care not to overlap the services of established community agencies? The Federation may be guided by three considerations:

1. Certain areas may be taken care of by individual institutions, within or without its membership. It need not

enter such fields as family-welfare or service to seamen.

2. Certain areas may be partially provided for. Here co-operation with the Protestant, non-sectarian, public, and other sectarian agencies will be essential.

3. Certain areas may be untouched. Here are definite opportunities for initiating Protestant social service.

The Federation would not be called upon to provide services for a Protestant constituency, save in those areas where needs are definitely unmet, or in those fields of service where there is a sectarian bond. Such situations are found in areas in which religion and social work are intimately related, and also in those areas in which more experimentation and pioneering are needed. The Federation has been established in the child-care area, and to a certain degree in the area of homes for the aged. Here it may expect to function for some time because of the community setup and the nature of the work in those areas. What of areas beyond these? Again would not the guide be to consider both the specific needs in these areas and the agencies that are attempting to meet these needs? Here surveys, experiments, and co-operation are needed.

Consider, for example, the family-welfare field, which is served largely by non-sectarian family-welfare agencies. There is no need to duplicate such non-sectarian services, but rather to co-operate with these agencies in two ways: to be certain, as far as possible, that existing needs are met; and to add whatever is necessary in order to interpret a Protestant way of life. The area of youth would be approached in the same way, as would the field of recreation for adults and youth. In the latter, there has been not only secularization but even commercialization. Is there not need both for a knowledge of existing conditions and for some pioneering to interpret the potential Protestant contribution in this area? Is there not also need to stimulate the public to do more?

Pioneering effort and the stimulation of other agencies are types of service that a Protestant federation would be called upon to provide in all areas. As has been stated, it is well to

keep in mind that it has been the Protestant tendency to turn charity and social work over to community-supported agencies, a policy that the Federation might continue to encourage to some extent. But first it must discover the needs in all areas and determine the concrete ways in which these should be met. This will be accomplished through investigation, experimentation, and co-operation with other agencies.

Again, without attempting to give a blueprint, some definite suggestions may be made to assist in outlining future steps. The Federation might experiment as to definite ways of meeting the social-service needs of Protestant churches—not just the needs of church members, but also the needs of those who are served through the churches. This might well include education and organization for social service in the local churches and the promotion of lay volunteer work. The Roman Catholics, through the St. Vincent de Paul Societies, have emphasized the role of the volunteer. There need be no desire to emulate, but certainly professional social work is in need of lay integration. Here is an opportunity.

The needs of youth clubs, which have avoided organized institutions, might be determined through surveys, investigations, and experimentation; and the community stimulated to provide creative opportunities for these youth. Physical health is now known to be one in importance with mental health. How does religious faith become integrated with mental health? The facets of this problem are legion. Here is an area in which ministers might be encouraged to co-operate. Family-welfare agencies might have some problems in this area that could be explored co-operatively.

*Types of Service.* As to the types of service to be covered by the Federation directly, these have been circumscribed by the Federation's concept of what its members need and by what it believes it can provide. The result has been limited service to limited groups. If the Protestant ideal is to care for all needs, in as many ways as possible, the Federation is called upon to ask itself: "What types of service can and should we provide?"

It has been pointed out that the Federation must first study the needs of the entire community, not merely those of the Protestant group. Member agencies must be encouraged to voice their needs. Certainly, no agency ought to belong to the Federation if its needs are not being met. An exploration of member-agency needs might provide a basis for an evaluation of present types of service and suggest others that are needed.

Insofar as present services meet concrete needs, they ought to be continued. But the question has centered in the adequacy of these services. Since, to date, the major demands made on the Federation have been for consultation services in social work, financial appeals, and publicity, a further development of them is indicated. But other services are also indicated. The relation of the Protestant religion to social work and social action is certainly within the scope of the Federation. What types of service are suggested along this line?—As many as are required to meet the varied human needs.

Questions may be raised as to developing new types of financial service. Do Protestant agencies need a fiscal federation? If so, why? Would this compete with existing agencies? Certainly, the presence of a Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities might stimulate action, but their existence should not serve as the basis for a Protestant federation. This fiscal service should not be conceived of solely as a fiscal lever to raise social-work standards; nor should it be a bait to membership or service. At present, there is division of opinion as to the need of a fiscal federation. This question can be answered only by surveys and experimentation, by wholehearted member-agency participation, and by co-operation with community co-ordinating agencies, along with a clear-cut understanding of the Protestant position.

The Protestant position, the history of the Federation, the areas and types of service—each points to the importance of continued experimentation. The Protestant tradition of individualism has encouraged pioneering and the exercise of ingenuity and initiative. When the Federation experimented wisely, it established needed services—services that were wel-



comed and accepted by the community. Areas of service that grew out of human need proved to be legitimate areas for the Federation. Rather than seek the perpetuation of definitely sectarian services, it seems to be more in keeping with the constructive developments in the Federation's own history and with the Protestant tradition to discover new needs, new areas, new types of service, and to make these available for all. This does not mean that the Federation should seek to become exclusively a research foundation. It does mean that it should undertake sufficient research to articulate its position and to provide leadership in the social-work field.

There are three possible ways for the Federation to provide leadership in relation to the results or outgrowths of investigation and experimentation that would be consistent with its historic tradition:

1. To induce the state or community to act in regard to discovered needs.
2. To persuade other groups who were interested to co-operate in a plan of action.
3. To blaze trails on its own into virgin fields.

Again, without any attempt to be categorical, certain definite suggestions may be made. The present consultative information and referral services may be developed as far as possible without overlapping with existing agencies. The relation of mental hygiene to religion might well be explored. A number of Protestant groups and others are already at work in this area, but the demands exceed the services. The areas of child care, the aged, youth, health, and recreation are not fully served in this regard. In these areas, the Federation might find it more profitable to experiment with already existing organizations.

There is need for service to alcoholics, a group to whom little professional help is being extended. The movement *Alcoholics Anonymous* has a religious basis. Does not sectarian social work owe a service here? The Federation also might

explore the possibilities of using the churches more fully for social education and social action. Protestant children might be provided with more opportunities to share in community projects. Sunday and week-day schools of religion, for children and adults, might be made more fully aware of the human needs in the city of New York. For instance, Protestants are not adequately informed of the needs of the people of Harlem, who, as stated, have been traditionally Protestant. Have not Protestants a particular responsibility for these people, not solely because they are Protestants, but basically because of their needs?

*Relations with Community Agencies.* As regards the relationship of the Federation to community agencies—that is, to those agencies that are on a functional basis, as well as to the other sectarian welfare agencies—we must bear in mind that a Protestant co-ordinating agency has a dual role: it is at once sectarian and non-sectarian. As a result, there will be overlapping constituencies for the non-sectarian agencies and the Federation. This must be recognized, and Protestants must face the fact and support both types of agencies. A Protestant co-ordinating agency should not be in competition with legitimate non-sectarian services; rather, let us remember that such services are the outgrowth of Protestant endeavor. It is important that this be realized by the Federation in all areas, but especially in the area of family welfare.

Although the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is a sectarian co-ordinating center, it is by tradition also committed to functional co-ordination and needs to support the co-ordinating agencies that serve on this basis. At the same time, it should insist that this functional approach be maintained consistently by the co-ordinating agencies. The Federation should be in a position to relate the sectarian to the functional process. To do this requires that it be professionally adequate as to its several services and also skilled in safeguarding its sectarian interests.

In relation to public agencies, the Federation would also

be called upon to play a dual role. By tradition, Protestants believe in charging the state with the responsibility of administering certain welfare services; but if they are to bring pressure to bear constructively upon state agencies, they must be sufficiently organized on a sectarian basis to implement their point of view. Here is one necessity for a structural organization that makes possible genuine representation.

For all practical purposes, there is co-operation among the three sectarian groups; yet, by nature, the Roman Catholic and Jewish sectarian groups are exclusive, while the Protestant group is more inclusive. Protestants would leave to each individual the interpretation of his own belief, which means that a Protestant welfare federation would need to work with all other groups, including other sectarian groups. By its nature, a Protestant federation cannot form as strong a sectarian organization as exists for the other groups, and this fact should be recognized.

*Relations with the Protestant Churches.* Problems concerning the relation of the Federation to the Protestant churches are as various as are denominations and other religious divisions. Although this relationship may never be completely clarified, definite progress can be made. Assuring more adequate participation by Protestant churches in the building of a Protestant welfare federation and achieving a fuller understanding of the relationship of religion to social work, down through each church group, will help; but in themselves these measures are not enough. For a Protestant welfare federation must form a religious fellowship of like-minded and similarly religiously committed people. Although this fellowship must be as extensive as possible, it may not always be large; but unless and until it is found, conceivably there can be no *Protestant* federation.

Insofar as the federations of churches represent the Protestant churches and church people of the community, they can be used as the organizational instrument for attaining such a fellowship. Initial steps have been taken that promise to provide more adequate co-operation between the Federa-

tion of Protestant Welfare Agencies and the federations of churches, to the end that this fellowship can become a reality, without which no true Protestant welfare federation can exist.

### **Affirming a Protestant Faith**

One of the oldest conflicts in the Protestant tradition has been between two concepts inherent within it: the "life-and-work concept," that which Protestants may do together; and the "faith-and-order concept," that which Protestants believe together. This conflict has been reflected in the history of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, which in the past has been more frequently concerned with what it might do than with its faith. A desire to emulate the other sectarian welfare federations may have stimulated the desire to act. As a result of this one-sided emphasis, confusion has ensued and progress been blocked. Truly it was said: "Here is an ongoing organization in need of a philosophy." More truly, it might have been said: "Here is an organization in need of defining its Protestant faith."

Just as ecumenical movements of the Christian Church (non-Roman) had to integrate the life-and-work and faith-and-order concepts before a unified world organization could be formed, so the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies is called upon to clarify and integrate what it does and what it believes. To clarify the faith-and-order concept will not be easy, because there is no one ecclesiastical authoritative pronouncement of what Protestants should believe about social work. Rather, there are as many individual faiths as there are Protestants. Nor will it be easy to clarify the life-and-work concept, for Protestants have not consistently adopted a single pattern of service. There is no one group to be served; the needs of all persons must be met.

A democratic form of organization and democratic methods of administration and service may make for slower progress; experimentation may be costly and time-consuming; voluntary co-operation may seem inefficient; fellowship may require complete unselfishness—but these are basic to the Protestant



tradition. These are potential sources of strength for the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, in the exercise of which it will be distinctive among other welfare federations. As it pioneers in the integration of Protestant faith and service, the Protestant Federation will make a distinctive contribution to the community and will reflect more truly the light that has been its historic tradition. Against denials of this tradition, it is called upon to protest; to the affirmation of this tradition, it is called upon to witness.

# Appendix

## A. Board of Directors and Executive Committee Members

### FIRST BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE FEDERATION OF INSTITUTIONS CARING FOR PROTESTANT CHILDREN (1922)

James Post	Mrs. Martha Falconer
Edwin Gould	Mrs. August Dreyer
Miss Louise G. Zabriskie	Mrs. Willard Parker, Jr.
Mrs. R. S. Ransom	Albert McClain
Edmund Dwight	Rev. A. Ray Petty
Dr. L. E. Sunderland	

### BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES (1940)

HENRY FLETCHER, <i>President</i>	J. BARSTOW SMULL,
ANCELL H. BALL,	<i>Executive Committee Chairman</i>
<i>First Vice-president</i>	HARRIS A. DUNN,
MRS. WILLARD PARKER,	<i>Investment Committee Chair-</i>
<i>Second Vice-president</i>	<i>man</i>
THOMAS J. WATSON,	VINCENT L. BANKER, <i>Treasurer</i>
<i>Third Vice-president</i>	J. FREDERICK TALCOTT, <i>Secretary</i>
Mrs. Frank L. Babbott	Charles D. Hilles
*Rev. William C. Bennett	Arthur Curtiss James
*Philip A. Benson	William M. Kingsley
James G. Blaine	*Rev. Quentin T. Lightner
George W. Bovenizer	*William H. Pouch
Miss Selena M. Campbell	Mrs. Katharine Sloan Pratt
*Eugene C. Carder, D.D.	Harry Pelham Robbins
*J. Henry Carpenter, Ed.D.	*Theodore F. Savage, D.D.
*William G. Creamer	*Anton Schwab
Russell V. Cruikshank	*Robert W. Searle, D.D.
Leonard J. Cushing	James M. Speers
Cleveland E. Dodge	Edward K. Warren
Frank E. Hagemeyer	Miss Louise G. Zabriskie
Mrs. William Henry Hays	

### EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE FEDERATION OF PROTESTANT WELFARE AGENCIES (1940)

#### J. BARSTOW SMULL, *Chairman*

Ancell H. Ball	†Harris A. Dunn
†Vincent L. Banker	†Henry Fletcher
William G. Creamer	Frank E. Hagemeyer
Russell V. Cruikshank	J. Frederick Talcott
Cleveland E. Dodge	

\*From the church federations of Greater New York.

†Ex-officio member.

## B. Questionnaire on the Relationship of the F.P.W.A. and Member Agencies

### LETTER ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONNAIRE

Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies

122 East 22nd Street

New York City

May 15, 1939

To the Presidents of Member Agencies:

A study relating to Protestant activities in social welfare work in New York City is being made by Professor Leonard A. Stidley of Oberlin College. Two years ago Mr. Stidley made another study by way of preparation for the recently established Social Service Information and Referral Bureau of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies.

One phase of his present study is to determine how closely related is the membership of a Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. In order to secure information on this topic, the enclosed questionnaire has been prepared.

This questionnaire is sent to you as President of a member agency of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies. Your personal cooperation in filling it out and returning it by June 10 will be greatly appreciated.

Please discuss this questionnaire with other members of your Board and with the executive of your organization.

LOUISE C. CUTTER

*Executive Director*

### QUESTIONNAIRE

Name of Organization.....

Address .....

Field of Service.....

Name of the President of the Organization.....

Address of the President.....

A. The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., offers, as you know, different services to member agencies. Some of these are listed below. Will you look over the list and check the services which your agency uses. Then go over the list again and make a second check of the three services which your agency considers the most important:

- 1. Operates a central Information Bureau on social welfare for the Protestants of the community.
- 2. Furnishes professional consultation and advisory services to member agencies.

- 3. Represents the interests of member agencies with City and State Departments of Social Welfare.
- 4. Maintains a Case Work Department, to which agencies of the City refer situations in which placement of children and aged people are involved.
- 5. Enrolls Protestant children for summer camps.
- 6. Conducts forums for board members, institutes for agency personnel, and case-work demonstrations within the agencies themselves on case-work procedures and programs.
- 7. Makes studies of the organization and programs of member agencies.
- 8. Promotes a campaign among Protestants for bequests on behalf of Protestant social-welfare agencies.
- 9. Advises Protestant agencies on publicity and money-raising plans.
- 10. Conducts a Social Service Information and Referral Bureau for the Protestant Churches of Greater New York.

B. The Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies is a central financing co-ordinating agency for service to a particular racial-cultural group. Likewise, the Roman Catholic Charities is a co-ordinating financial agency for those of a particular faith. Each of these federations aims to provide for its own. Protestant welfare agencies neither serve one racial-cultural group as does the Jewish Federation, nor are its agencies united by one ecclesiastical faith as are the Roman Catholics.

Below are listed three reasons for a Protestant Federation of welfare agencies. Kindly check the statement which seems to express, most adequately, the advantage that membership in Protestant Federation holds for your agency:

- 1. Since there are strong Jewish and Roman Catholic federations, there is need of a Protestant welfare federation.
- 2. Protestant welfare agencies share certain common problems which draw them into a group as a whole.
- 3. Since much of the state legislation is promoted on a sectarian basis, it is to the interest of individual agencies to be affiliated with their respective federations.

C. What does your organization consider to be the chief reason or reasons for belonging to the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc.?

.....

.....

.....



.....  
 .....  
 Questionnaire filled out by .....

With the aid of .....

Please return to

Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc.

122 East 22nd Street, New York City

## C. Schedule for Interviews with Board Members of the F.P.W.A.

### PURPOSE OF INTERVIEWS

In considering the broad topic of the significance and function of Protestant welfare federation in a community, it is deemed advisable to treat the topic from various angles. In the first place, it is to be treated historically as an organizational development. Again, it is to be treated comparatively with other sectarian federations. Then it is to be considered legally as to its statutory position. It is also to be considered functionally as to its service. Finally, it is to be considered philosophically as to its basic motivation. In this latter division, the opinions of board members of a functioning social-welfare federation would throw light upon the topic.

For this reason a schedule for interviews with board members of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., has been proposed with a twofold objective:

1. To raise questions relative to Protestant welfare federation.
2. To secure as near as possible opinions on the purpose, function, and organization of Protestant welfare federation.

### TOPICAL QUESTIONS AS A BASIS FOR INTERVIEWS

1. In your judgment, how ought Protestants to function organizationally in the welfare field?

Some Protestant denominations—e.g., Lutheran and Protestant Episcopal—have social-welfare agencies ecclesiastically controlled. These denominations aim to provide all of the necessary social services for their constituencies. Other Protestant denominations are less inclusive of ecclesiastical control of welfare agencies and aim to serve the community through non-sectarian welfare agencies. Both of these are Protestant positions.

2. What is the basis of Protestant federation in social work? In your judgment, ought Protestants to federate in social welfare because Jews and Roman Catholics have federated?

3. In what functions of social work can Protestants most readily federate?

The laws of the State of New York make mandatory the assignment, insofar as is possible, of children by the court to institutions which provide religious training in the faith of the parents. This brings together agencies caring for Protestant children.

4. (a) Is it necessary to have both non-sectarian and Protestant welfare agencies in the community? Are non-sectarian welfare agencies Protestant? If so, in what manner? If not, do Protestants need specific agencies? Why or why not have sectarian welfare agencies?

(b) Are there four distinct groups in social welfare in the community—viz., Jewish, Protestant, non-sectarian, and Roman Catholic?

5. What is the most practicable method of securing Protestant representation in social welfare?

Protestant welfare agencies may delegate representation to their federation; a group of prominent Protestant laymen who are interested in social welfare may "speak for Protestants"; an attempt may be made to secure "ecclesiastical representatives" from all Protestant denominations. Each of these is a possible approach to Protestant representation in social welfare.

6. (a) Ought the Protestant churches through federations, and the Protestant welfare agencies through a federation, be tied together? Why or why not?

(b) The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., recently established Social Service Information and Referral Bureaus for the Protestant churches. What is the significance of these for Protestant social welfare?

(c) The Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., states that it "approximates for Protestants" in social welfare what the Roman Catholic Charities and Jewish Federation do for their respective groups. In what way or ways can a federation of Protestant welfare agencies approximate a Roman Catholic and a Jewish federation?

7. In your judgment, is it desirable for the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Inc., to act as the transmitting agency for allocation from the Greater New York Fund for member agencies of the federation? Why or why not? What are the advantages or disadvantages?

8. (a) How may Protestants be best organized in social welfare to assist in securing Protestant bequests?

(b) Protestants may want to leave bequests to Protestant social welfare. Can this best be done: through individual agencies; through a federation; through a foundation; or through a combination? What are the advantages and disadvantages of each?

9. In New York City, how would you think it best for Protestants to organize in the field of social welfare? Do you have any specific steps to suggest? Are there any emphases which you think Protestants

ought to make? Do they have a specific contribution different from other sectarian federations?

## D. Schedule for Interviews with Protestant Ministers and Church Social Workers

### PURPOSE OF INTERVIEWS

The purpose of these interviews is:

1. To learn what Protestant ministers and church social workers consider to be the function of the Protestant church in regard to social work.
2. To have Protestant ministers and church social workers describe their social work.
3. To learn what Protestant ministers and church social workers believe Protestants ought to do in the social-work field.

### TOPICAL QUESTIONS AS THE BASIS FOR INTERVIEWS

1. Do you care for the relief cases of your parish? Why or why not? Do you turn any cases over to the non-sectarian family welfare agencies? If so, under what conditions? What is your relationship to these agencies—harmonious, indifferent, or difficult? Will the local Protestant church always want to care for some relief cases? Why or why not?
2. Do you consider the sectarian organizations of the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities a help to the community social work? Why or why not?
3. Do you know of any Protestant relief clients who are not adequately cared for?
4. Do you feel that the money allotted to the Protestants by the Gibson and Blaine Committees was a satisfactory arrangement for Protestants? Why or why not? Ought Protestants to ask for funds from Community Chests on a sectarian basis? Why or why not?
5. Have you ever made use of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies, Protestant Social Service, or the Social Service Department of the Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation? If so, in what way? What do you consider to be the function of these Protestant sectarian organizations?
6. Would any of the following types of Protestant welfare federation assist you in your parish social service:
  - (a) Referral Bureau?
  - (b) Central Information Bureau of Protestant welfare facilities?

- (c) Planning center?
- (d) Representation before City and State Welfare Departments?
- (e) Standard-raising agency?
- (f) Fund-raising agency?

7. Do Protestants want to develop a sectarian welfare federation? Is such an organization consistent with their philosophy? Why or why not? Must one be developed as a measure of self-defense because of the presence of other sectarian welfare federations? Why or why not?

8. Should each denomination do as the Lutheran and Episcopal denominations have done in regard to social work? Why or why not?

9. How may Protestants best improve their social work in New York City? Is it desirable to be "Protestant-conscious" in regard to social work? Why or why not?

10. Is there a need for a Protestant welfare agency or federation which would approximate for Protestants what the Jewish Federation and the Roman Catholic Charities do for the Jews and the Roman Catholics? Why or why not?

11. Should the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies make as the basis of its financial appeal the approximation of other sectarian federations? Why or why not?

12. Is a Protestant family-welfare agency needed? Why or why not?

13. Should Protestant churches endorse officially the non-sectarian family-welfare agencies as their family-welfare agencies? Why or why not?

14. Did you ever have any contacts with the Protestant Foundation? Is a Protestant foundation a practical and satisfactory organization through which to perpetuate Protestant social work? Why or why not? Would the members of your church support a Protestant foundation? Why or why not?

15. What are the first steps to be taken to improve Protestant social work in New York City? Why?

16. Should these steps come through the federations of churches or the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies? Why or why not? If so, how?

17. If there is to be a Protestant welfare federation, how ought it be organized? Why? Can a closed board serve the Protestant welfare agencies and interests of the city? Why or why not? How may a Protestant "voice" be made articulate in social work? Is one needed? Why or why not?

18. What would you like to see as the end result of federated Protestant social work in New York City? Why?



### E. Quotations from *Minutes of Meetings of the F.P.W.A. Board of Directors* Indicating Relations between the F.P.W.A. and the Federation of Churches

It seemed to be the opinion [of the meeting] that representatives of church groups should be related officially to this general organization [Federation of Agencies] through the representatives of their Social Service Departments and Missionary Societies, to the end that there can be brought together in one group all those agencies which are caring for or are interested in the care of dependents in the so-called Protestant group in the community.<sup>1</sup>

It was agreed that invitations be sent to representative clergymen of various denominations.<sup>2</sup>

It is the aim [of the Federation] to bring before the Protestant members of the community the needs of this work and to arouse the interest of the churches of all denominations.<sup>3</sup>

It was agreed to call upon the Social Service Commissions of the various denominations to interest the Protestant community in the work of the Federation.<sup>4</sup>

A definite effort is to be made to get Protestant churches to join the Federation.<sup>5</sup>

One of the objectives of this Federation is to inform the Protestant community of the work being done and to secure its active interest and support.<sup>6</sup>

Board members were asked to get a few words of endorsement for the Federation from various churches with which they are connected, to be used on a folder to be sent out with an appeal to the general public.<sup>7</sup>

A conference with representatives of the Federation of Churches was urged.<sup>8</sup>

A contest for a name for the Federation of agencies was promoted in Protestant churches.<sup>9</sup>

The Federation of Churches analyzed its policies and program, and suggested that the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants become the adjunct of their Social Service Department. . . . The Federation of Agencies felt itself to be too influential to be under the direction of the Federation of Churches.<sup>10</sup>

. . . an [unsuccessful] attempt was made to reconcile the duplica-

<sup>1</sup>*Minutes of Meeting of the F.P.W.A. Board* (January 6, 1921).

<sup>2</sup>*Ibid.* (September 29, 1921).

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.* (November 21, 1921).

<sup>4</sup>*Ibid.* (February 8, 1922).

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.* (September 23, 1922).

<sup>6</sup>*Ibid.* (December 13, 1922).

<sup>7</sup>*Ibid.* (August 1, 1924).

<sup>8</sup>*Ibid.* (January 20, 1925).

<sup>9</sup>*Ibid.* (February 17, 1925).

<sup>10</sup>*Ibid.* (May 5, 1925).

tion of functioning in the Protestant Social Service field on the part of the Federation of Churches and the Federation of Agencies.<sup>11</sup>

A committee was appointed on Promoting Understanding and Co-operative Relationship with the Federation of Churches and its Social Service Department.<sup>12</sup>

## F. Legal Basis of Sectarian Social Work

The phrase "legal basis of sectarian social work" refers to state laws that made mandatory the assignment, by courts and other departments, of children who become state wards to homes and institutions in charge of persons of the same religious faith as the children.<sup>1</sup>

It does not mean that the law makes necessary the existence of sectarian groups, for sectarian organizations that sponsor social work are purely voluntary and are interested in particular groups, in certain values, in a specific philosophy of life, or in definite religious tenets. The state may recognize these sectarian groups and the institutions they control, and, as in New York, may use these institutions for state wards.

The phrase "sectarian social work" may seem to limit social work, in that it may imply social work for sectarian ends that is usually associated with proselytization of a particular sect or tenet. Arthur L. Swift, Jr., referred to such methods of social work as:

"... only a means to an end, not intrinsic to it, a bait to a trap of salvation. However sincere and well meaning the effort, to the extent to which its primary religious objective is conceded by its social activity it is harmful both to social work and to religion. For it too often leads the indiscriminating client to identify all group work [and social work] agencies with such subtly proselytizing practices, and to the discriminating it seems patently unfair. Besides being 'mean' in taking advantage of the social needs of individuals it is deceitful in pretending to be what it is not."<sup>2</sup>

Sectarian social work as here described is an insidious type that has given sectarian social work an unenviable reputation. Swift demands that the issue of proselytization be cleared:

"If proselytization is the goal, let that fact be stated. If the goal is social service, then it is best not attempted by a religious organization except for those of its own denomination."

It is the needed service to this latter group—i.e., of his own denomination—that justifies the continuance of sectarian social work in the eyes of the law, which states that children are to be cared for by those of the same religious faith as the faith of the children.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.* (May 18, 1925).

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.* (October 28, 1931).

<sup>1</sup>See *New York State Constitution*, Article VI, Section 18.

<sup>2</sup>*Proceedings of the Church Conference of Social Work* (1939). Not yet published.

The law was designed to prevent proselytization<sup>3</sup> as described by Swift.

Sectarian social work goes back to the relationship of Church and State. The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution, which is the charter of religious liberty in the United States, provides that: "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." By this Amendment, religious and racial-cultural groups, organizations and institutions, have a right to function and to disseminate their particular doctrines, so long as these do not endanger the general welfare. This Amendment concerning religious freedom relates to Federal jurisdiction only. The various State Constitutions provide their own religious limitations and vary in the degrees of religious freedom they permit, but all separate the functions of Church and State:

"The Constitution [of the United States] makes no provision for protecting the citizens of the respective states in their religious liberties. This is left to the state constitution and laws. Nor is there any inhibition imposed by the Constitution of the United States in this respect on the states."<sup>4</sup>

The United States Supreme Court observed that "the word religion is not defined in the Constitution,"<sup>5</sup> although it also rendered a decision to the effect that the United States is a Christian country.<sup>6</sup> The constitution may grant religious freedom, but the relationships to be worked out between Church and State are not entirely prescribed.

The first New York State Constitution of 1777, and as revised at each Constitutional Convention since then, separated Church and State.<sup>7</sup> The New York State Constitution describes religious liberty in the following terms:

"The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship without discrimination or preference; and no person shall be rendered incompetent to be a witness on account of his opinions on matters of religious belief; but the liberty of conscience hereby secured shall not be construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness or justify practices inconsistent with the peace and safety of the state."<sup>8</sup>

This section of the Constitution provides equality before the law

<sup>3</sup>Adolphus Ragan, Director of Administration, Domestic Relations Court, New York City, who had much to do with drafting this particular section of the law, stated that the purpose of the law placing children in homes and institutions of the same faith as the children was to make "proselytization in the court impossible." Interview with A. R.

<sup>4</sup>*Permwell vs. Municipality*, 3 Howard, U. S. 588 (1845).

<sup>5</sup>*Reynolds vs. United States*, 98 U. S., 145 (1876).

<sup>6</sup>*Holy Trinity Church vs. United States*, 143 U. S., 457. Quoted from Brown, W. A., *Church and State* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).

<sup>7</sup>Lincoln, Charles, *Constitutional History of New York* (Rochester, N. Y., Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company), Vol. I, p. 543.

<sup>8</sup>New York State Constitution, Article I, Section 3.

for all sects and for those persons who are not members of any sect.

Church and State meet in the welfare of the people. A State is dependent upon its citizenry, as the various churches are dependent upon members. The problem of children who are brought before the court reveals this dual responsibility of Church and State. A child, through delinquency or neglect, finds itself a ward of the State. The State desires that this child become a responsible member of society. The practical problem is: "How will the State care for the child and provide for his growth into responsible participation as a citizen?" The church or cultural group to which this child or his parents belong is also interested in the child and in his religious or cultural education, holding that only as the child is taught and has experience in the religious faith or cultural group will he measure up to his responsibility.

Since Church and State are separate<sup>9</sup> in the United States, how will the care of the child, which affects both and in which both are interested, be effected? While the State may have been willing to provide for its wards, so also have been various sectarian groups. In fact, sectarian groups have been first in the field of child welfare.<sup>10</sup> The large majority of institutions in this country caring for children were founded by private religious, social, and fraternal organizations, and are still maintained by these—only one-tenth of the total of child-caring agencies being under public auspices.<sup>11</sup> Most of the institutions are under the auspices of the three major faiths. In the United States, the number of child-caring institutions increased from six in 1800 to fifteen hundred in 1923, four hundred of these having been established between 1890 and 1923. Sectarian groups pioneered in this field and have remained in charge, rendering those services that, as groups, they thought essential to the well-being of children. Sectarian child-care institutions have long met two needs for those children who had found themselves in unfortunate circumstances: home care, and religious education in the "faith of their fathers."

Since institutions caring for children are attempting to take the place of parents, the rights that parents have with regard to their children need to be examined. One of these rights is to choose the religious faith in which the parents desire the children to be reared.<sup>12</sup> When Church and State are separate, the State is not in a position to discharge the responsibility of the parents in choosing and training in a religious faith. The church or cultural group is ready to fulfill this function. Hence the dual problem of Church and State

<sup>9</sup>A ruling (Number 287) of the New York State Board of Regents forbids the asking of the religious affiliation or non-affiliation of any applicant for public-school positions. This law made more specific the separation of Church and State in a particular area.

<sup>10</sup>George Whitefield, religious leader of Methodism, established the first "orphan house" in this country.

<sup>11</sup>Falconer, Martha, "Child: Institutions for the Care of Children," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, Vol. III.

<sup>12</sup>Kent, James, *Commentaries on American Law*, eleventh edition (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1869), Vol. II, pp. 216 ff.



in providing parental substitutes is how to integrate the function of each into a plan for the child.

Generally, the law concerning parent and child in the matter of religious heritage states: "*Religio sequitur patrem.*" This, however, does not specify how or in what way this religion follows. Accordingly, the United States courts have taken three contrasting positions in regard to the rights of children and of parents in the matter of religious teaching:<sup>13</sup>

1. In the first position, it is not enough to consider the interests of the child alone; the parents have rights that enter the case. Their choice of religion is to be considered.<sup>14</sup> A common belief is that, when a child is once baptized or entered in any prescribed manner in a church, the child is to be treated as belonging to that church so long as he is a minor. There is no foundation in law for such a position.<sup>15</sup> American law generally recognizes both parents as joint guardians of their children.<sup>16</sup>

2. In the second place, "the court will not itself prefer one church to another, but will act without bias for the welfare of the child under the circumstances of each case, although there will be weight given to parental interest."<sup>17</sup> If the parental desire is to be carried out at the sacrifice of the welfare of the child, this must so far be disregarded. In other words, while in the first place there was a desire to give weight to parental rights, it is the entire welfare of the child that is paramount. Parental desires are not the only determinants.

3. Finally, there has been the position taken that, "in view of the statutes prohibiting distinctions being made on account of religious belief in awarding custody of minor children, religious considerations will not be given the slightest weight in our decision, although some reputable courts have considered such a difference of religion."<sup>18</sup>

Sectarian institutions would receive different treatment of different states. However, sectarian institutions acting in place of parents have definite legal rights, and the courts will protect these.

In New York State, the Legislature of 1875<sup>19</sup> decided to discontinue committing children to state-controlled orphanages and to assign children who became state wards to private institutions or

<sup>13</sup>Friedman, Lee M., *Harvard Law Review* (1915-1916), Vol. XXIX, pp. 485 ff.

<sup>14</sup>*Hernandez vs. Thomas*, 50 Florida, 522, 39 So. 641 (1905).

<sup>15</sup>Judge Tulin's statement in the Vardinakes Case, Domestic Relations Court, New York County (1936). On file in the F.P.W.A. office.

However, the baptismal relation of the child is sometimes determinative. Some court decisions have held to this position. See Silcox, C. E., and Fisher, Galen, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934), p. 144.

<sup>16</sup>Friedman, *op. cit.*, p. 488.

<sup>17</sup>*Purnition vs. Jamrock*, 195 Mass., 187, 80 N.E. 802 (1907). Quoted from Friedman, *op. cit.*

<sup>18</sup>*Jones vs. Bowman*, 13 Wyoming, 79 Pac. 439 (1904). Quoted from Friedman, *op. cit.*

<sup>19</sup>Abbott, Grace, *The Child and the State* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938), Vol. II, p. 114.

homes of the religious faith of the children's parents, insofar as practicable. The Legislature also decided that the board of every child committed was to be paid for by the state or subdivision. This procedure established a definite relationship between the state and sectarian institutions.

This change of policy on the part of New York State was the result of a change that took place in social work concerning the relative values of institutional and foster homes for children, and of pressure exerted by sectarian and non-sectarian agencies that needed financial assistance,<sup>20</sup> and by some sectarian groups that wanted children of their particular faith assigned to their own institutions and homes; and also because state control in the child-care field had not been entirely satisfactory.

New York State had embarked definitely upon a welfare policy whereby the state not only acknowledged sectarian welfare institutions for children, but made co-operation with these institutions the *modus operandi* on behalf of those children who became state wards. The state had taken for itself a supervisory and financial responsibility, and expected sectarian institutions to provide a home and moral and religious education. The system of grants of public aid for the partial support and training of dependent children has become known as the "New York System."

Because of doubt in the minds of some legislators as to whether New York State, with its constitutional separation of Church and State, had the authority to commit children who became its wards to homes and institutions of the faith of the parents, a Constitutional amendment was passed in 1921, making the assignment of children by the court to homes or institutions conducted by persons of the same faith as that of the child a specific law.<sup>21</sup> When the Domestic Relations Court Act was again amended in 1933, regarding the commitment of children to homes and institutions of the same faith as the children, the mandatory character of the law was made even clearer.<sup>22</sup> In earlier statements, "faith of parents" was the term used; but the law now read, "faith of child." What was earlier implied had now become legally expressed.<sup>23</sup> A complete legal basis of sectarian social work with children had been established in the State of New York.

In the child-care field, sectarian social work is divided into three distinct divisions, each sponsored by one of three major sectarian groups. Here, sectarian social-work groups have been established longest, have the field almost exclusively to themselves, and have definitely shown the relationship of sectarianism to social work. Since 1920, representatives of the three faiths in New York City have been meeting with commissioners of public welfare to discuss problems of child welfare. There is a definite legal basis for sectarian

<sup>20</sup>*Ibid.*, Vol. II, pp. 73 ff.

<sup>21</sup>Amendment 18, Article 6 (passed November 8, 1921).

<sup>22</sup>See *Domestic Relations Court Laws* (1933), Ch. 482, Sections 88 and 89.

<sup>23</sup>Adolphus Ragan, who was responsible for the writing of this section of the law, said that its purpose was to be "iron-clad." Interview with A. R.

social work among children. This legal basis gives the institutions of the various faiths not only legal status, but also standing in the community. Each group is expected to provide for its own.

From the point of view of law, Protestants have equal standing with others. How they will meet their responsibility for sectarian social work, how they will federate, how they will choose representatives to co-operate with city and state departments depend upon their philosophy and form of organization—not upon the State. The State provides a legal basis for sectarian social work in the child-care area.

## G. Additional Tables

TABLE VI

EXPENDITURES FOR OUTDOOR RELIEF IN NEW YORK CITY, FROM  
PUBLIC AND PRIVATE RESOURCES, 1910 to 1934<sup>1</sup>  
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	Expenditures			Per Cent		Total
	Total	Public Resources	Private Resources	Public Resources	Private Resources	Per Cent of 1934
1910..	\$971	\$229	\$743	23.6%	76.4%	0.6%
1915..	1,305	256	1,139	18.4	81.6	0.8
1920..	4,750	2,981	1,769	62.8	37.2	2.7
1925..	7,729	5,662	2,068	73.3	26.7	4.4
1929..	10,387	7,750	2,637	74.6	25.4	5.9
1930..	12,926	9,271	3,654	71.7	28.3	7.3
1931..	48,164	31,665	16,499	65.7	34.3	27.3
1932..	82,866	57,870	24,996	70.3	29.7	46.7
1933..	118,361	101,211	17,151	85.5	14.5	67.1
1934..	176,514	169,316	7,198	95.9	4.1	100.0

TABLE VII

CURRENT EXPENDITURES FOR VOLUNTARY SOCIAL WORK IN NEW  
YORK CITY. CLASSIFIED BY SECTARIAN AUSPICES OF AGENCIES<sup>2</sup>  
(In Thousands of Dollars)

Year	Total Expenditures	Catholic	Jewish	Protestant	Non-sectarian
1929.....	\$53,648	\$9,196	\$9,458	\$14,420	\$20,574
1930.....	57,263	10,169	9,565	15,470	22,060
1931.....	68,424	10,942	9,705	15,467	32,310
1932.....	70,828	10,850	9,109	13,810	37,059
1933.....	60,152	10,192	8,486	12,371	29,103
1934.....	52,378	10,116	8,782	12,797	20,684
1935.....	51,121	9,712	8,980	13,053	19,376

<sup>1</sup>Trends in Relief Expenditures, 1910 to 1934, W.P.A. Social Research Division. Research Monograph Number 10, p. 21.

<sup>2</sup>Statistics secured from Miss Kate Huntley, of the Welfare Council of New York City. Certain hospitals and the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. are not included in the totals.

When one glances back over the years since 1910, one finds that "expenditures made by each sectarian group increased during the period, but each group of agencies varied somewhat from year to year in its share of the total bill. Nearly two-thirds of the expenditures for voluntary social work in 1929 were under the supervision of Protestant and non-sectarian groups combined, and the proportion of expenditures varied from 62.5 to 70.6 per cent during the twenty years. The remainder (34.7 per cent) was almost equally divided between Catholic and Jewish auspices in 1929, but the division of expenditures between these two groups had not remained constant for the twenty years. The Catholic group had been responsible for spending about a quarter of the total in 1910, and its share had diminished to 17 per cent in 1929; two-thirds of the proportional loss in expenditures in the Catholic group was gained by Jewish agencies."<sup>3</sup>

TABLE VIII

TOTAL ANNUAL PARISH SUBSCRIPTIONS TO AND RECEIPTS OF THE  
ROMAN CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW YORK

<i>Year</i>	<i>Parish Subscriptions</i>	<i>Total Receipts</i>
1920.....	\$917,219	\$960,882
1921.....	832,919	887,380
1922.....	791,171	832,546
1923.....	852,857	1,004,774
1924.....	976,492	1,121,773
1925.....	959,698	1,124,633
1926.....	991,163	1,103,327
1927.....	1,022,761	1,203,180
1928.....	1,051,453	1,367,775
1929.....	1,082,979	1,419,923
1930.....	1,002,463	1,546,232
1931.....	979,765	1,712,084
1932.....	840,862	1,479,613
1933.....	735,818	1,413,724
1934.....	739,281	830,920
1935.....	684,096	1,315,741
1936.....	706,790	1,105,102
1937.....	766,179	1,306,582
1938.....	715,476	1,364,603

<sup>3</sup>Huntley, Kate E., *Financial Trends in Social Work in New York City* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935), p. 39.



TABLE IX

TOTAL ANNUAL RECEIPTS OF AND NUMBER OF CONTRIBUTORS TO THE  
FEDERATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES

<i>Year</i>	<i>Receipts</i>	<i>Number of Contributors</i>
1919.....	\$2,718,319	————
1920.....	2,824,131	————
1921.....	2,989,981	————
1922.....	3,434,311	————
1923.....	3,263,297	27,407
1924.....	3,844,200	30,966
1925.....	4,098,860	32,559
1926.....	4,498,183	34,293
1927.....	4,671,411	33,544
1928.....	5,179,529	32,568
1929.....	5,286,820	33,130
1930.....	5,075,445	32,432
1931.....	4,625,041	30,234
1932.....	3,619,599	26,241
1933.....	3,148,371	24,323
1934.....	3,699,040	28,448
1935.....	4,007,338	29,602
1936.....	4,605,356	31,660
1937.....	4,856,519	39,130
1938.....	5,199,277	37,612

TABLE X

NUMBER OF CASES HANDLED AND CHILDREN PLACED BY THE CASE  
WORK DEPARTMENT OF THE F.P.W.A.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Cases Handled</i>	<i>Children Placed</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Cases Handled</i>	<i>Children Placed</i>
1928	376	190	1936	842	1,584
1929	477	271	1937	919	1,725
1930	632	269	1938	1,165	2,133
1931	765	382	1939	1,460	2,298
1932	959	340	1940	1,547	3,320
1933	832	244	1941	2,318	3,251
1934	833	1,303	1942	2,276	723
1935	825	1,675			

TABLE XI  
NUMBER OF CHILDREN ENROLLED FOR SUMMER CAMPS BY THE F.P.W.A.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>
1930.....	54	1936.....	1,460
1931.....	103	1937.....	1,628
1932.....	70	1938.....	2,045
1933.....	69	1939.....	2,192
1934.....	1,211	1940.....	2,436
1935.....	1,561	1941.....	2,683

TABLE XII  
NUMBER AND AMOUNTS OF GRANTS FROM THE BALDWIN FUND SINCE 1932

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1932.....	28	\$7,000
1933.....	82	13,460
1934.....	18	2,500
1935.....	48	7,000
1936.....	54	7,000
1937.....	63	13,400
1938.....	80	18,115
1939.....	69	13,700
1940.....	74	18,650
1941.....	65	19,914
1942.....	72	20,286
Total.....	653	\$141,025

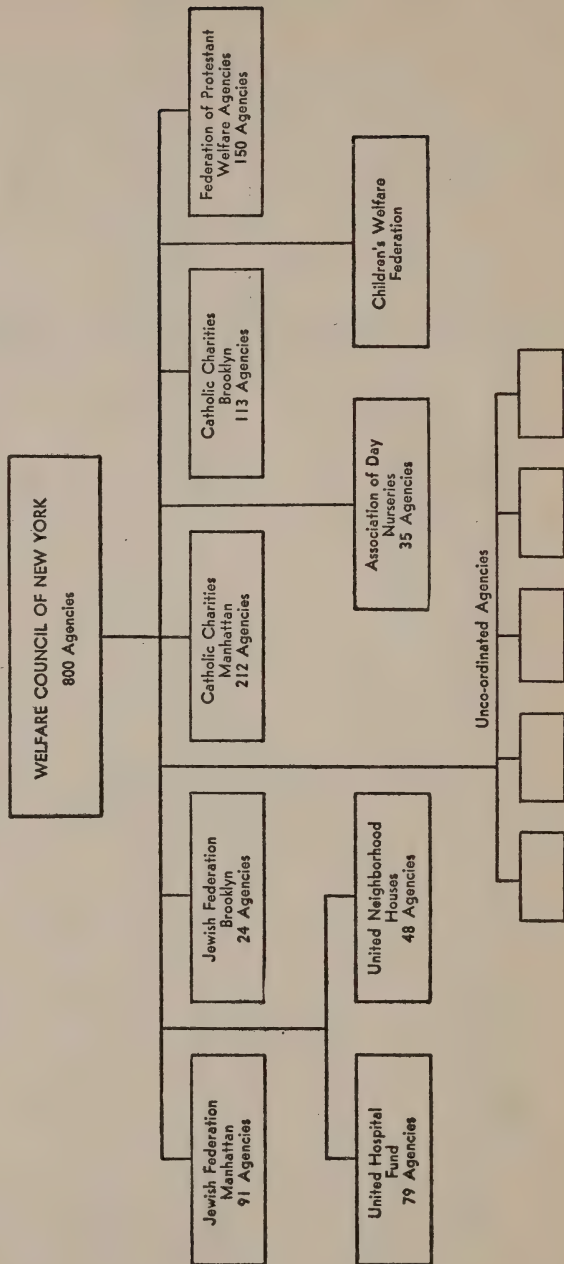
TABLE XIII  
NUMBER AND AMOUNTS OF SCHOLARSHIPS OF THE YOUTH  
FOUNDATION SINCE 1930

<i>Year</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Amount</i>
1930.....	10	\$1,000
1931.....	11	1,100
1932.....	10	650
1933.....	—	—
1934.....	—	—
1935.....	6	675
1936.....	13	1,775
1937.....	8	1,000
1938.....	7	1,100
1939.....	10	1,300
1940.....	8	1,056
1941.....	11	1,210
1942.....	10	1,125
Total.....	104	\$11,991

## H. Additional Charts

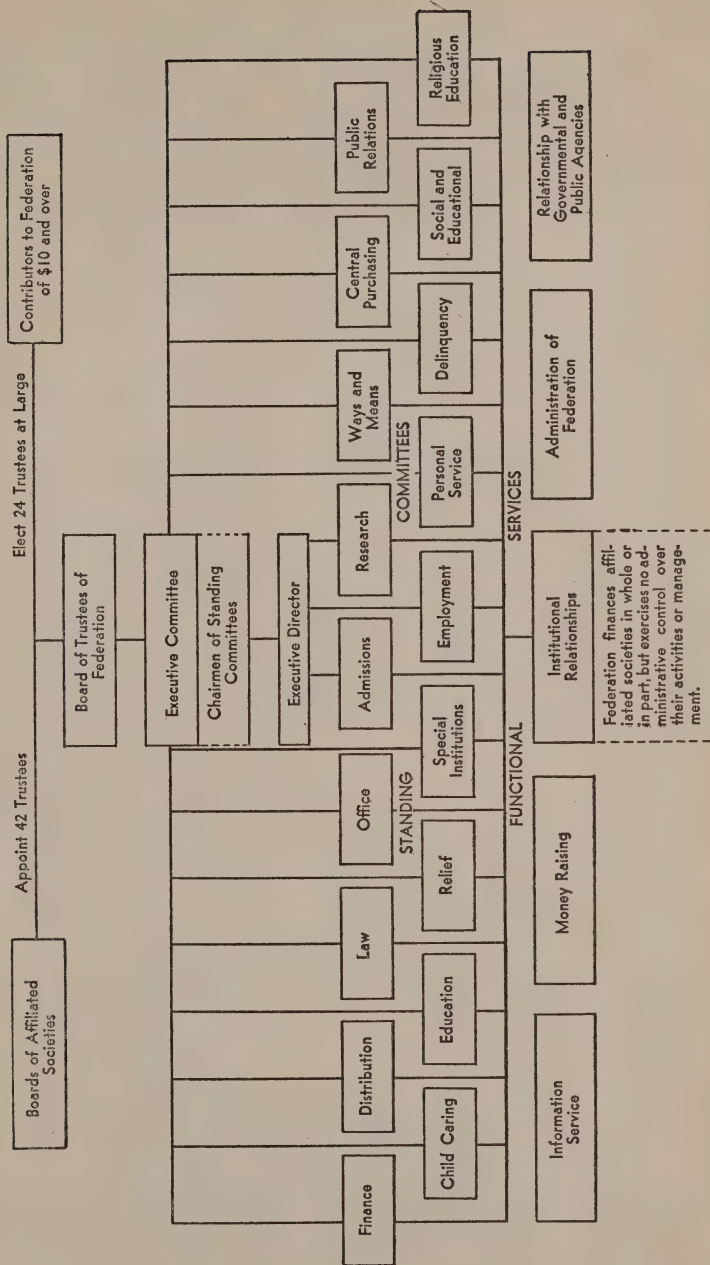
CHART 2.

PLAN OF WELFARE COUNCIL CO-ORDINATION PROPOSED BY THE F.P.W.A.



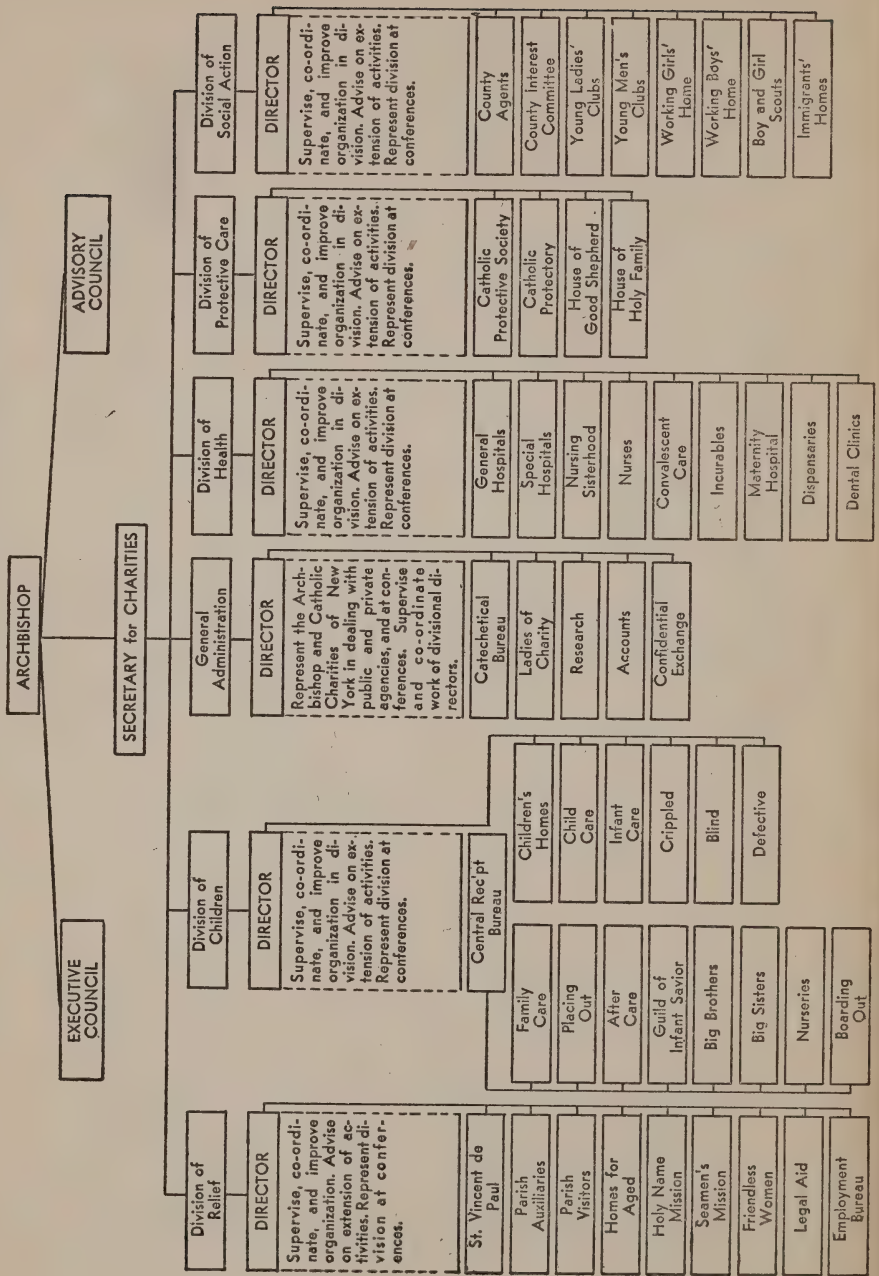
# CHART 3.

## ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN OF THE FEDERATION FOR THE SUPPORT OF JEWISH PHILANTHROPIC SOCIETIES OF NEW YORK CITY





ORGANIZATIONAL PLAN OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHARITIES OF NEW YORK



# Bibliography

## Books

- Abbott, Edith, *Historical Aspects of the Immigration Problems* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1926).
- Abbott, Grace, *The Child and the State* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938), Vol. II.
- American Jewish Year Book 5689* (Philadelphia, The Jewish Publishing Society of America, 1928), Vol. XXX.
- Barr, Jessica H., editor, *Directory of Social Agencies of New York City* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935).
- Bogen, Boris D., *Jewish Philanthropy* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1917).
- Boylan, Marguerite, *Social Welfare in the Catholic Church* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1941).
- Brown, William A., *Church and State* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).
- Commons, John R., *Races and Immigration in America* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1908).
- Falconer, Martha P., "Child: Institutions for the Care of Children," in *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1930), Vol. III.
- Faris, Ellsworth, et al., editors, *Intelligent Philanthropy* (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1930).
- Foerster, Robert, *Italian Immigration in Our Times* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1919).
- Guilday, Peter, *Life and Times of John Carroll* (New York, Encyclopedia Press, 1922), Vol. I.
- Holt, Ivan Lee, *A Search for a New Strategy of Protestantism* (Nashville, Tenn., Cokesbury Press, 1935).
- Huntley, Kate E., *Financial Trends in Organized Social Work in New York City*, Welfare Council of New York City, Research Bureau Studies No. 4 (New York, Columbia University Press, 1935).
- Johnson F. Ernest, *Church and Society* (New York, Abingdon Press, 1935).
- Karpf, Maurice J., *Jewish Community Organization in the United States* (New York, Block Publishing Co., 1938).
- Kent, James, *Commentaries on American Law*, eleventh edition (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1896), Vol. II.
- Kurtz, Russell H., editor, *Social Work Year Book* (New York, Russell Sage Foundation, 1941).

- Lincoln, Charles, *Constitutional History of New York* (Rochester, New York, Lawyers Co-operative Publishing Company, 1906), Vol. I.
- Niebuhr, Reinhold, *The Contribution of Religion to Social Work* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1932).
- O'Grady, John, *Catholic Charities in the United States* (Washington, D. C., National Conference of Catholic Charities, 1931).
- Queen, Stuart A., *Social Work in the Light of History* (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1922).
- Ryan, John, "Charity and Charities," *Catholic Encyclopedia* (New York, D. Appleton and Co., 1908), Vol. III.
- Silcox, C. E. and Galen Fisher, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants* (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1934).
- The Southern Reporter*, Vol. XXXIX, Permanent Edition. Sept. 2, 1905-March 10, 1906 (St. Paul, West Publishing Co., 1906).
- The World Almanac and Book of Facts*, 1940 (New York, The New York World-Telegram).
- Trends in Relief Expenditures 1910-1934*, Works Progress Administration, Social Research Division. Research Monograph Number 10, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1937.
- Troeltsch, Ernest, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1931).
- United States Reports*, Supreme Court, October Term 1878. Vol. VIII (Boston, Little, Brown and Company, 1879).
- United States Supreme Court Reports in 1845*. 3 Howard 588, 11 Lawyers Edition.

### Manuscripts and Mimeographed References

- Flanagan, Sue, *History of Protestant Foundation in New York City*. (1939.) Manuscript on file in the F.P.W.A. Office, New York.
- Giersbach, Walter, *Associated Church Charities*. (1933.) Mimeographed; published under the auspices of the Chicago Church Federation.
- Glasser, Melvin, *Jewish Federation*. Unpublished manuscript.
- Jacobs, Herman, "Some Aspects of the History of the Federation of Jewish Charities Movement." Master's thesis. Graduate School of Jewish Social Work, New York City (1933).
- Proceedings of the Church Conference of Social Work* (1939). Unpublished.
- Survey of Protestant Social Service in New York City* (1936). Mimeographed.

### Pamphlets

- Annual Reports of Brooklyn Church and Mission Federation* (1933 to 1936).
- Annual Reports of the Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York* (1920 to 1941).

- Annual Reports of Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (1925 to 1930).
- Annual Reports of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1931 to 1942).
- Booklet on Original Plan* (1919). An outline of the Roman Catholic Charities in the Archdiocese of New York.
- Fifty Years of Social Service* (New York, Jewish Social Service Association, 1926).
- Plan Adopted by the Committee on Federation* (New York, Federation for the Support of Jewish Philanthropic Societies in New York City, 1915).
- Statement of Procedure for Agencies Applying for Grants from the Greater New York Fund for the Year 1938* (New York, Greater New York Fund, 1938).
- Summary of Final Report, Report of Survey of Roman Catholic Welfare Agencies prior to the formation of the Roman Catholic Charities* (New York, Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, 1919).
- Tippy, Worth M., *Churches and Social Agencies in Washington, D. C., by a Committee on Co-operation.* (1937.) Privately printed.
- Two Years of Social Planning, 1937-1939* (New York, Welfare Council of New York City, 1939).

## Periodicals

- American Hebrew* (November 23, 1906), Vol. LXXX; (January 28, 1910), Vol. LXXXI.
- Harvard Law Review* (1915-1916), Vol. XXIX.
- Information Service* (March 23, 1934), Vol. XIII, No. 12; (January 22, 1938), Vol. XVII, No. 4.
- Jewish Social Service Quarterly* (September, 1930), Vol. VII, No. 1; (March, 1936), Vol. XII, No. 3; (September, 1936), Vol. XIII, No. 1.
- Zions Herald* (January 15, 1941), Vol. CXIX, No. 2.

## Minutes

- Minutes of Meetings of the Federation of Agencies Caring for Protestants* (1925 to 1930).
- Minutes of Meetings of the Federation of Institutions Caring for Protestant Children* (1921 to 1925).
- Minutes of Meetings of the Federation of Protestant Welfare Agencies* (1931 to 1942).







## Date Due

MAY 10 1949

FE 22 '51

~~JUN 15 1979~~

JUN 16 1964







HV99 .N59S85  
Sectarian welfare federation among

Princeton Theological Seminary-Speer Library



1 1012 00140 0102